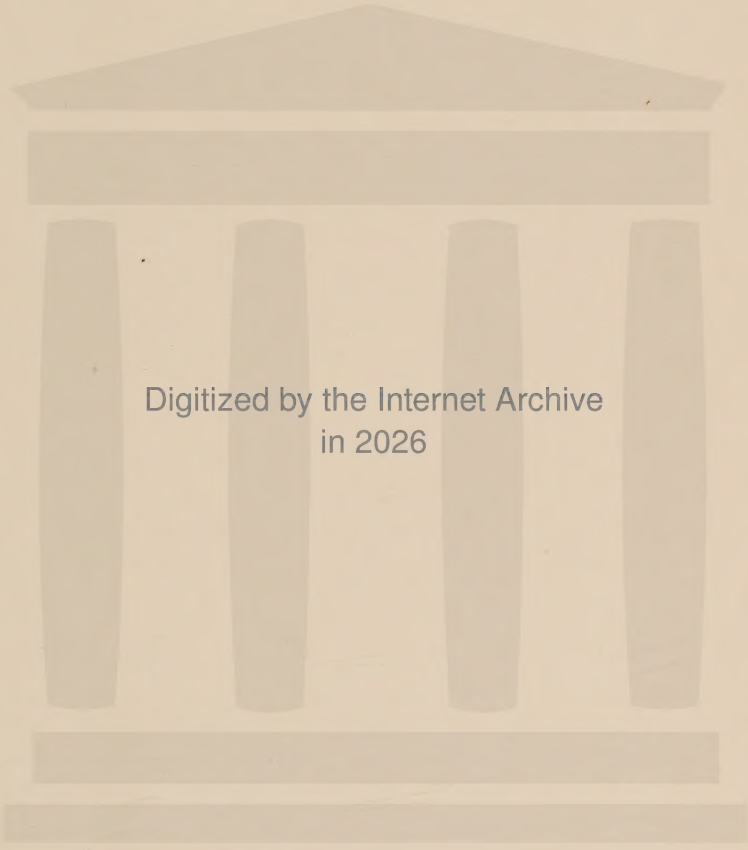
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RACE

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EDITORIAL

The first number of RACE appears at a time when the study of the relations between the races of mankind is of paramount importance. To-day we see the beginnings of a new phase in the development of human society as European political authority disappears from many parts of the world. The multi-racial Commonwealth has independent member states in Asia and in tropical Africa and next year Nigeria will join them. The coming months may decide the future of British Central Africa. Indeed the whole continent of Africa from its Mediterranean shore to the Cape of Good Hope is in a turmoil and no man can tell when and in what form tranquillity will come. In an age when international conferences are the fashion, those of Bandung, Cairo and Accra are among the most significant. The relations between white and black Americans are headline news on both sides of the Iron Curtain and on our own doorstep we have the sombre events of Notting Hill to remind us that there is a coloured community in our midst.

RACE aims to provide a forum for scholars to publish the results of their research and for informed people to express their views on the manifold aspects of race relations. It is hoped that the journal will be more than a medium for scholars. It should appeal to the general reader who seeks a rational appraisal of some of the problems of the times.

The articles themselves will cover a wide field, for race relations transcend the narrow boundaries of disciplines and many of them have a contribution to make. This is why much of this first number is devoted to a discussion of some different approaches to racial studies. In future numbers there will be articles on political and constitutional topics as well as contributions from sociologists and psychologists, biologists and historians.

The Institute of Race Relations, whose child this journal is, is an independent and impartial body, committed to no one doctrine. RACE itself is editorially impartial and is not responsible for the views of its writers.

SOCIOLOGY AND RACE RELATIONS

MICHAEL BANTON

Few controversies can be so unproductive as some of those about the subject-matter of particular sciences and their classification. Nevertheless, it is from some standpoints helpful to make a distinction between pure and applied sciences and to consider the study of race relations as an applied social science. In this respect it shares common characteristics with criminology, international relations, and some of the work done in university departments of commerce, public health and social medicine, social administration and political science. A subject like race relations has no pure theory of its own, but exists to bring together all that other sciences can contribute to the solution of problems within its own special field. In this it must draw not only upon pure social sciences, like economics, psychology and sociology, and upon work in the biological sciences, but also upon the perspective and expertise which historians and geographers can furnish for the better understanding of relations in particular regions. In some spheres of applied social science—in social medicine for example—fairly accurate prediction is possible and the implications of research findings for social policy permit little disputation. This stage is far off in the study of race relations. But if anyone doubts whether the scientific approach is possible in this field, he has only to make a cursory examination of the literature of the last fifty years to see how great has been the increase in our knowledge of the causes of friction.

The student of economics, psychology or sociology is not interested in race relations as such, but in questions of human behaviour. Studying a complex situation the social scientist's attention will be concentrated upon just a few variables in it which he will try to relate to similar phenomena in other situations. His task is one of analysis. The layman, however, usually wishes not to follow up the theoretically interesting questions, but to be given a synoptic interpretation of the position in a particular region, and it is frequently the historian who is best fitted to attempt this. To distinguish in this way between the complementary tasks of analysis and synthesis is an alternative way of contrasting pure and applied science.

Students of race relations have drawn widely upon recent work in other fields of research. Philip Mason, for example, in *An Essay on Racial Tension*[1] discusses what can be learned from anatomy, physiology, haematology, dietetics, statistical psychology and analytical psychology, but though the work of sociologists is mentioned sociology is not cited as a discipline with something special to say. This is probably no accident, for there is a widespread doubt about whether sociological research can provide anything that could not be done equally well by someone trained in history or psychology who took the trouble to

[1] Philip Mason, *An Essay on Racial Tension* (Oxford University Press, 1954).

acquire the relevant techniques of assembling the data required. Is this the case? Even if it has in certain instances been true in the past will it remain so?

Two tendencies in contemporary sociology

A common conception of the nature of sociology is expressed by a psychologist who writes:

> In sociology . . . the basic unit of analysis is the group, whether it be a social class, an age–sex category, a town, or a culture: sociologists are not concerned with individuals save as they contribute to an average for a social group or category.[1]

This is a reasonable characterization of much recent British sociology. Writers of this school tend to select for their problems such questions as the character of a group in relation to the society of which it forms a part, e.g., its composition in respect of income, family and educational background, methods of recruitment to and advancement within it, its organization, functions and prestige within the wider society. Such studies are frequently in part historical.

There is, however, a second school of thought which rejects the 'group' approach and holds that the proper unit of study is the act, or, in more general terms, social behaviour. No sharp dividing line can be drawn between advocates of the two approaches, for there is much that they have in common and the differences are partly ones of emphasis. Nevertheless, it may be helpful to treat them as distinct approaches in order to show that sociology has much to contribute that is not covered by the definition above. Both group-oriented and behaviour-oriented conceptions of sociology have theoretical contributions to make to the study of race relations above matters of technique, but the approach from behaviour seems likely to prove by far the more instructive.

It is now generally accepted that the nineteenth century dichotomy between the individual and society posed a false problem, but the attendant idea still lingers that psychology is the science of the individual and sociology of the group. It is false in both respects. Both the psychologist and the sociologist study human behaviour, but they view it from different standpoints with different questions in mind. The psychologist considers people as individuals, taking account of the social context of behaviour only in so far as it bears upon the psychological variables. The sociologist concentrates upon the social context and pays attention only indirectly to individual variations in conduct. Those sociologists who see behaviour as their proper unit of study will point out that many features of the social context cannot be adequately conceptualized in terms of group membership. They are inclined to select for their problems the explanation of why different situations call forth different sorts of behaviour and to base their analysis upon case material instead of statistical or historical generalizations. The approach

[1] Michael Argyle, *The Scientific Study of Social Behaviour* (London, Methuen, 1957), p. 6.

from case material enables them to show how people's behaviour is related to the obligations inherent in particular relationships and the sanctions that support them; it also involves consideration of the ceremonies which epitomize and reinforce these obligations, the means by which parties to a relationship communicate their expectations to others, and a variety of other phenomena that cannot conveniently be studied as the attributes of groups. This approach enables the student to take account of the behaviour of particular people without adopting a psychological frame of reference, and to show the relevance of group membership to conduct without advancing dangerous generalizations about the nature of the groups in question. Before further discussion, however, a short commentary upon the more conventional studies is necessary.

The 'group' approach to sociological aspects of race relations is well exemplified in the Marxist theory. Marx held that the relations of production constitute the foundation of society and that upon this rises a legal and political superstructure. As relations of production change, with serfdom being succeeded by slavery or by wage labour, so conventional ideas develop, justifying slavery or permitting the exploitation of the labourer.[1] According to the Marxists, racial ideology is only a form in which men become conscious of underlying economic factors and is to be explained in terms of them. Thus prejudice is held to be a social attitude propagated among the public by an exploiting class for the purpose of stigmatizing some group as inferior. The motivations of those who spread such a doctrine are irrelevant; what matters is the effect it has upon social relations. The capitalist is bound to try and depersonalize his labour force so that he can treat labour as he treats land and capital, as an impersonal commodity to be bought and sold. By branding a group as inhuman or inferior, racialist doctrines help the capitalist to exploit this group and its resources.[2] Lenin carried the argument further when he stated that imperialist policies sought also to divide the working class movement by offering its members some of the fruits of colonial exploitation. The inculcation of racial prejudice is one way in which the capitalists can prevent white proletarians from realizing that their interests are identical with those of the coloured workers, and can delay their assault upon the common class enemy.

The Marxist theory has great strength and plausibility when it comes to the study of the politico-economic functions of racial prejudice, though its assumptions are questionable. It has also fathered the belief that the field of race relations studies is to be distinguished by the presence of racialist ideas and that racialism itself is a characteristic of a particular historical era. With the passing of the peculiar conditions which give rise to modern capitalism, so it is said, racialism will disappear. This is the thesis of what Dr. Maurice Freedman has dubbed 'the 1492 School of Race Relations'.[3]

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[1] Cf. Preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, 1859.
[2] Cf. Oliver Cromwell Cox, *Caste, Class and Race* (New York, Doubleday, 1948) p. 393f.
[3] *British Journal of Sociology*, V. 1954, p. 344.

The difficulty of developing any systematic sociology of race relations based upon a group approach other than the Marxist is reflected in the lack of systematic treatises in this sphere. There have been many excellent monographs about Negroes in one place or Jews in another, and literally thousands of articles in academic journals, but though there are general texts and studies from psychological and political standpoints there are scarcely any which the sociologist can claim for his own. One of the few is Brewton Berry's *Race and Ethnic Relations*,[1] in which the author discusses processes of group interaction under standardized classifications of conflict, annihilation and expulsion, assimilation, amalgamation, segregation, stratification and pluralism. It is the most competent of all the college texts, but how helpful is this method at a more advanced stage? Is our understanding of the situation in a particular country enhanced by its being placed in one of these very general categories? It is difficult to see how any approach on such lines can meet the first requirement of scientific research: the cumulation of results permitting the formulation of better hypotheses. Consider the sort of general proposition to which this kind of approach leads; for example: 'Where Brazilian society was once formed by castes, it has now become a society of social classes which are themselves undergoing rapid change'.[2] This is a statement about a trend in one region and while it may give the reader a general idea of the position there, it does not enable him to draw any conclusions about future changes or about relations in similar regions. The trends in every region of the world could be studied without this producing a single scientific hypothesis.[3] How do such propositions have to be reformulated if sociology is to avoid becoming a Toynbee-ish sort of historiography?

According to orthodox Marxists, racialism is essentially a cover for exploitation and once the student has understood this he knows all he needs to about it; all he has to do is to trace out the way the economic factors have done their work. The argument that the relations of production have this determining force is, however, only an assumption that is incapable of demonstration because these relations can never be isolated from all the other factors that contribute to the human condition. If it be rejected, then racial prejudice has to be conceived as a far more complex phenomenon: it may be a rationalization of economic interest, but it is also a psychological, geographical, sociological, historical phenomenon, and much else besides. To different students it presents different problems, *each* of which merits study in its own right. To claim that a man's group membership determines what attitudes he holds, or that social phenomena are ultimately explicable in psychological terms, would be to repeat the same mistake of regarding one feature of social life as determining the others.

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[1] Brewton Berry, *Race and Ethnic Relations*, revised edition (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1958).

[2] Charles Wagley (ed.), *Race and Class in Rural Brazil* (Paris, Unesco, 1952), p. 144.

[3] Karl R. Popper, *The Poverty of Historicism* (London, Routledge, 1957), pp. 105–119 on laws and trends.

A sociological theory which takes behaviour for its starting point is therefore concerned with only one set of determinants of conduct. It does not seek to explain why particular people behave in a given way—exhaustive explanations of conduct are in any case necessarily impossible—but to solve problems which their behaviour raises for special lines of enquiry. Some of the problems of greatest interest to the sociologist are those posed by the ways that rights and obligations are allocated in societies. The transition in Brazil from racial or caste-like groupings to ones resembling social classes is to be seen as a change in the way social status is ascribed to people, and this opens the way to an analysis of particular situations on a comparative basis.

Social Distance

The central sociological problem in the study of race relations is probably that of 'social distance'. The term was originally coined in America and used for studies of popular resistance to various immigrant groups, but it is of the widest application. In any society people maintain a certain distance with regard to strangers, irrespective of whether they are strangers in terms of race, nationality, region or class background. A man cannot behave in just the same way towards a stranger as he does towards members of his own group and yet someone who counts as a stranger in one situation may not do so in another. To sit next to a gypsy on a bus may be regarded as a very different matter from having him as a guest in the house.

The study of social distance is closely associated with the name of Emory S. Bogardus who first developed a technique for its measurement. He asked subjects to indicate whether they would accept certain stranger groups in any of seven relationships. They had to reply in these terms:

> According to my first feeling reaction, I would willingly admit members of each race (as a class and not the best I have known, nor the worst members) to the classifications which I have marked.

These were:

I would admit one

(1) to close kinship by marriage

(2) to my club as personal chums

(3) to my street as neighbours

(4) to employment in my occupation

(5) to citizenship in my country

(6) as visitors to my country

(7) I would exclude from my country

The results can be expressed in the adjoining table.

Degrees of Social Distance

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 (reversed)
English	94	96	97	95	96	98	100
Swedes	45	62	77	78	86	95	99
Poles	11	12	28	44	58	80	95
Koreans	1	7	13	21	24	53	81

(Adapted from Emory S. Bogardus, *Immigration and Race Attitudes* (Boston, Heath, 1928), p. 25.)

During the 1930s American psychologists were preoccupied with the study of attitudes. Bogardus' test was taken up with enthusiasm but dropped after a while when its defects for the measurement of attitudes became apparent. Now, however, we can see it in better perspective. Responses to a social distance test give some indication of how people think they would behave in a particular situation; their *attitudes* towards the group in question are only one among several influences at work. An individual's attitude towards a group remains relatively constant but his behaviour varies from situation to situation, and in certain circumstances someone who is favourably disposed may feel obliged to behave harshly towards strangers for fear of the consequences if he does not. A comparison between men and women is instructive, for women, irrespective of their personal attitudes, have to be more careful about getting involved with strange men of any category; a man's social role usually allows him more freedom. A social distance test therefore reflects in large measure the conventional behaviour patterns of the society from which the respondents are drawn, and, to an important extent, the strength of the sanctions upon deviant behaviour. If the results are interpreted in this light the test remains a valuable one and needs further development so that it can be applied to less sharply defined groups, like social classes, and to a greater variety of relationships. So utilized, it can uncover a new range of behaviour patterns and pose novel questions for further research.[1]

The maintenance of social distance has frequently been regarded as an expression of prejudice, but this is apt to be misleading. The meaning of the term 'prejudice' has changed several times during the past fifty years and is still used in a variety of senses. For Sir Arthur Keith, riding the flood tide of social Darwinism, 'prejudice' was an expression of group identity, analogous to patriotism because of its function in keeping nations separate and furthering social evolution. For R. E. Park, the great American sociologist of the inter-war era, 'what we ordinarily call prejudice seems to be [a] more or less instinctive

[1] An interesting example of this is given by J. Clyde Mitchell in his modification of the Bogardus test for measuring social distance between tribal groups in Rhodesia. He and his African assistants drew up a list of seven relationships to represent different degrees of social distance but test responses revealed that they had got four of them in quite the wrong order. The explanation of the true order revealed that certain features of African life were of greater significance than had been expected. Cf. *The Kalela Dance*, Rhodes–Livingstone Paper No. 27 (Manchester, 1956), pp. 23–4.

and spontaneous disposition to maintain social distances'.[1] Among social scientists today it is usually taken to be a psychological phenomenon—a relatively rigid and hostile disposition of an individual towards a particular group. In this sense, prejudice is independent of social distance. The term discrimination is used to denote the differential treatment of a group irrespective of whether it is discrimination against them or discrimination in favour of them; it is independent of moral judgments upon the virtuousness or reprehensibility of such behaviour.

The observance of social distance is a form of discrimination, consisting in the failure to admit strangers to particular relationships, and is characterized chiefly by avoidance. Patterns of avoidance or social distance range over an infinite variety of groups and situations. After all, no social group can exist unless in some circumstances it is distinguished from the rest of society and certain people are excluded from it. Are there any principles which can reduce this variety to some sort of system? I have elsewhere attempted to isolate two such principles with reference to race relations in Britain, and if valid, they should prove of some more general application.[2]

Two principles in situations of avoidance

To most relationships there are three parties: *ego*, or the actor; *alter*, or the man with whom he enters into relationship; and the *onlooker*, a member of ego's group who appraises his conduct and who may cause ego to be rewarded or punished for it. Ego's avoidance of alter may be due either to apprehensions about him as a stranger who may not understand what is expected of him, or may be due to apprehensions about what the onlooker may think. This latter factor is of greatest importance when the two groups occupy different positions on a ladder of prestige. The two chief variables, then, are the strangeness of alter, and the effect of the onlooker's judgments upon ego's social standing.

The stranger is the man who does not know the relevant rules of conduct, someone who from ignorance may not observe the obligations of the relationship and may embarrass those who have dealings with him. The stranger is also someone who cannot interpret the unspoken language by which people of the same background inform one another of the view they take of the situation and what they expect of each other —the hints, gestures, intonations and silences which form so important a part of communication. A business man might not mind employing an immigrant in a position governed by relatively simple regulations, but be reluctant to take him on in one which required an understanding of the customers' domestic background or an ability to make judgments of their trustworthiness. An unreliable employee in some positions could also cause far more damage to a firm's reputation than in others. When these factors come into play an employer is bound to be reluctant

[1] *Race and Culture* (Glencoe, Illinois, Free Press, 1952) p. 259.
[2] *White and Coloured: British behaviour towards coloured immigrants* (London, Jonathan Cape, 1959), Chapter VI.

to accept immigrant workers. Generalizing from this, it may be said that social distance will be greater (a) the more members of another group are thought to be unacquainted with the norms governing a relationship; (b) the more the relationship within the group is regulated by implicit modes of communication; (c) the weaker are the sanctions for bringing the stranger into line if he behaves inappropriately.

In certain contexts people are less concerned about those with whom they have dealings than with the impression their conduct may make upon onlookers. They may like to be seen in the company of a beautiful or famous lady not for her sake but because this is a sign of their success in the competition for her favours. Similarly in group relations. Differences in custom are not of themselves a barrier to association. Members of a subordinate group like to be seen associating with their social superiors; it is the latter who have to be careful about what their neighbours or colleagues may think of their choice of company. Yet a man's reputation is not necessarily damaged if he is seen walking down the road with a tramp or a prostitute. This might well be regarded as unorthodox behaviour and as calling for some explanation, but if the man were wearing a policeman's uniform or a clergyman's collar this might well be held to legitimize the relationship. In such cases the man's occupational role is understood to involve him with such people in the course of his duties and his action is not regarded as relating to his private life. In a country like Britain people's social standing is heavily influenced by the sort of person they are known to associate with, and they therefore do not like to be seen in the company of their social inferiors in a whole range of situations. Certain characteristics, such as wealth or education, improve a man's standing; others, such as a coarse accent, detract from it. A dark skin colour is one of the latter and is generally held to be an undesirable characteristic ('they can't *help* their colour' people say of the immigrants). It therefore seems reasonable to expect that social distance will be greater (a) the lower the relative prestige of the stranger's group; and (b) the less public justification ego's social role gives him for associating with socially inferior persons.

Some people are more worried than others about what the neighbours may say. Many writers have pointed out how someone who is climbing the social ladder and seeking entry into a higher class drops his old associates because they might hinder his progress. Those whose social position is secure, however, can afford to run greater risks. This suggests a third proposition about the influence of the onlooker: social distance will be greater (c) the more ego feels vulnerable to criticism or challenge. This is particularly relevant to situations of competition. As long as a stranger presents no threat nobody worries about him, but once he makes demands upon members of the host society or threatens their social position, people become aware of all his undesirable characteristics. The increasing competitiveness associated with economic development would thus appear to underly the reported increase

in emphasis upon racial characteristics as criteria of social status in Brazil.[1]

All these propositions could doubtless be refined and elaborated by further research, but there is relatively little in the existing literature against which they can be checked. The preliminary results of J. Clyde Mitchell's study of social distance between tribes in Rhodesia tend to bear them out. He found that the closer tribes were to each other geographically and the more they resembled each other culturally, the less was distance expressed. There was, however, another factor: 'some tribes have widely established reputations, some favourable and some unfavourable, which affect their position in the social distance scale'.[2] Thus his results support the view that the two principal factors are those of strangeness and prestige. Their operation can be perceived most clearly where group relations are relatively fluid and considerable variation is possible from one situation to another.[3] Where racial distinctions are more rigid, as in Southern Africa, patterns of social distance also reflect political and psychological influences to a marked extent and it is more difficult to isolate the purely sociological factors.

The establishment of customary patterns of discrimination means that members of subordinate groups have different rights and obligations from their social superiors. They are expected to perform duties which members of the superior groups would never acknowledge but in return they can claim the protection of their patrons. The dominance of the one group is often justified by stories of the others' irresponsibility, but this belief gives the underdogs a licence in some situations that would not be allowed to their superiors. Systems of the differential rights and obligations cannot be maintained without a considerable social apparatus. Norms as to the behaviour appropriate in particular situations have to be re-stated and reinforced by the ceremonial of everyday life. Sanctions upon deviant behaviour lose their force unless every now and again occasion is found—or made—for their potency to be demonstrated. Much of this has been known for a long time. As Herbert Spencer wrote:

> Ceremonial control establishes itself anew with every fresh relation among individuals. Even between intimates greetings signifying continuance of respect begin each renewal of intercourse. And in the presence of a stranger, say in a railway carriage, a certain self-restraint, joined with some small act like the offer of a newspaper,

[1] Wagley, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 27.

[3] A recent enquiry indicates that the same principles may be applicable in Southern Brazil, where the position of Negroes appears to be less favourable than in Britain. The results of a recent questionnaire enquiry show the prevalance of unfavourable beliefs about Negroes (the view that they lacked hygiene was accepted by 91 per cent.) and the existence of marked social segregation (95 per cent. of the sample said they would not marry a Negro). The authors conclude: 'On the one hand we find a wide adherence to democratic norms, and, on the other, a high degree of sterotypy, a great amount of segregation at the intimate personal level, and a practically complete endogamy.' Roger Bastide and Pierre van der Berghe, 'Stereotypes, Norms and Inter-racial Behaviour in São Paulo, Brazil,' *American Sociological Review*, vol. 22, 1957, pp. 689–94.

shows the spontaneous rise of a propitiatory behaviour such as even the rudest of mankind are not without.[1]

Despite this, there have been very few studies of the etiquette of race relations. In all the colonial territories there have been standard ways of behaviour and speech by which the servant paid deference to his master, indicating in this way that he knew his place and was prepared to keep to it. It is no coincidence that any subordinate who has failed to keep to these observances has aroused immediate suspicion and often received an apparently disproportionate punishment. These little acts of ceremonial are essential to the maintenance of any patterned relationship. Nevertheless, even if the advantage is mostly with one side it is not entirely so. The servant will flatter his master when he comes to ask a favour, exaggerating his dependence to exalt his master's position; he pays him deference and gets his reward. The coloured man in a white country—like the woman in the industrial West—has ways of turning a position of weakness to advantage.

This discussion of social distance suggests that it may be possible to work out a set of analytical categories applicable to inter-group behaviour in general and permitting the cumulation of findings which is characteristic of scientific enquiry. It also points to an important difference in research design and procedure between the two orientations in sociology. Followers of the 'group' approach very frequently work with purely documentary materials. Indeed, it is probable that they would be unable to retain some of their hopelessly non-operational concepts if they were to try and make sense of the infinitely more complex material obtained from interviewing people and observing their actions. On the other hand, the development of the 'behaviour' approach in sociology is dependent upon field research and the collection of case material.

Reducing social distance

The study of social distance shows that many of the characteristic features of race relations are found over a wide range of social activity, and can best be illuminated by a comparative approach. If its principal determinants are strangeness and differential prestige, then the difficulties in relations between racial groups would remain after physical means of distinguishing them had been removed. Once 'race' had gone, some other means would have to be found to identify the group. The increase in racialism in the industrial era is to be seen as a consequence of larger groups being brought into contact and into situations of conflict than had previously been the case. None but the smallest society can organize its affairs without separate groups being created—even a monastery has its distinctions—and as group formation must entail exclusion in some circumstances, it is clear that social distance cannot be abolished without dissolving the groups themselves.

Distance can be reduced when strangers are assimilated to the host

[1] *Ceremonial Institutions* (London, 1879), p. 6.

society and their strangeness disappears. This has been the most powerful solvent of social barriers and it is brought about less by the modification of the physical signs of racial background than by altering the social significance attached to these signs. It may happen, however, that two groups live alongside one another in circumstances that permit them to lose their mutual strangeness but instead the line between them is drawn all the more strictly and social distance is increased. Members of the subordinate group may initially be willing to accept assimilation but the dominant group rejects them. In these cases resistance to the reduction of distance comes from the onlooker aspect of the relationship and the factor of differential prestige. Group obligations give the individual little room to manoeuvre. An interesting comparison is provided here by the West Indies and Southern Africa.

In the West Indies there is a fairly clear association between colour and social position. The highest classes have the fairest complexion, the lowest have the darkest. When a dark-skinned man does well for himself he tends to take a wife from the class to which he has attained rather than from the one he has left—just as happens in any class society. The association with colour, however, entails his marrying someone of fair complexion, and 'marrying light' comes to be regarded as socially desirable. To use an economic analogy, it may be said that in a free market a successful dark man exchanges cash for colour. The social effect over several generations of this, and of the complementary downward movement, is to make for an evening out of racial distinctions: there is a gradual blurring of the spectrum of tints from top to bottom. Without a free market in social criteria, colour may not be exchanged against wealth or education. In Southern Africa, one criterion over-rides all others and this results in a hardening of the barriers.

If the formation of groups is inevitable, and the expression of social distance between them an unavoidable consequence, then the specifically racial factor in race relations is of negligible significance. Propaganda designed to educate people into a more correct understanding of race as a biological phenomenon may well have no positive value. A more realistic policy would be to utilize group obligations so as to minimize divisions along racial lines. A truly harmonious society will be one in which there is a variety of groups with different aims and interests, but in which group loyalties criss-cross over the whole range of social life so that two people who are opposed to each other on one issue are united on another. In Southern Africa this has not been achieved: there are very few situations in which a group of Europeans and Africans see themselves as having common interests in opposition to other Europeans and Africans. There are few loyalties to nation, church or profession which effectively cross the colour line.

While the sociological study of race relations may suggest certain general conclusions of this kind as to the prerequisites for harmony, it also has more specific contributions to make to the improvement of

group relations. Not least of these is the insight it can give people into the factors at work in every-day social relations. A comparison with psychoanalysis is not inapt. One of the great contributions of psychoanalysis has been the way it has taught people to recognize the influence of unconscious and disreputable forces upon their own and others' behaviour. The acknowledgement of them has a liberating effect in enabling people to act with a greater insight into the situations in which they find themselves. An understanding of the factors which mould social relations can have a similar effect. Someone who believed that racial discrimination was the expression of moral inadequacy or delinquency might be deeply disturbed about his or her failure to avoid making such distinctions whereas someone who could recognize the interplay of custom and social situation would better appreciate the nature of the choices open to him. Understanding human relations is not just a matter of individual sympathy: real discoveries are made about the principles which underlie them and a mastery of these principles deepens man's knowledge of himself.

Another respect in which the sociologist has a distinctive contribution to make is in advising as to the likely effects within particular spheres of given social policies. He cannot, as a sociologist, say what the objectives of policy should be; nor has he the information necessary to make predictions comparable with the economist's, but his relatively detached and systematic approach enables him to draw a truer picture of the structure of racial relationships than those of people more intimately involved. The progress of economics and psychology would astound their critics of fifty years ago; advances in sociology within the last ten years suggest that it, too, has an unsuspected potential.

According to the view advanced in this article, sociology does not attempt to provide any inclusive account of the myriad influences upon human behaviour. In one region sociological factors may be of major relevance to an understanding of the total position; in another, they may be relatively insignificant compared with political or psychological ones. It is not for the sociologist to weigh his contribution against the others'. It is the specialist in race relations studies who has to develop an expertise in applying these contributions and assessing their relevance to the complex problems with which he is confronted.

HISTORY AND THE STUDY OF RACE RELATIONS

A Personal Appreciation

H. S. DEIGHTON

The aphorism that 'all history is contemporary history' is so widely current among historians that nearly every scholarship candidate has written at least one essay on it. To quote it at a professional teacher of history is almost as certain a way of setting his teeth on edge as to tell him, in the words of the late Lord Acton, that 'all power corrupts' and 'absolute power corrupts absolutely'. Yet such tutorial shrinking must be taken rather as evidence of personal weakness than of anything else. It is not so much a matter of familiarity breeding contempt, as of the persistent reiteration of the same truth passing the point of toleration. For it is true in a very real and in a peculiarly important sense that 'all history is contemporary history'. Like many of its kind, the phrase owes its wide currency to the fact that it contains an important element of simple truth. Its author, the Italian philosopher Benedetto Croce, gave a good deal of his attention to the problems of the philosophy of history and, like so many who have done this, arrived in the end at no very illuminating conclusion. But he did shed a good deal of incidental and nonetheless useful light on the way. Croce, in this instance, gave an effective, because a memorable, expression to the fact that history is not, and cannot be, a really objective study, and that the historian can never get away from himself or from the circumstances which have contributed to make him what he is.

In the consideration of acute contemporary problems—such as those of race relations—'history' is often drawn upon as though it were a bank containing a large deposit of finally ascertained fact. But there are very real limits to the extent to which history can be referred to in respect of any particular study, and there are very real dangers in attempting to exceed those limits. The root of this matter can be put in a simple categorical assertion: 'that the study of history is not the pursuit of an exact science'. It would not be easy—and it would here certainly be inappropriate—to hazard a guess as to how exact the physical sciences may be. Nor is it necessary in this context to express an opinion as to the extent to which the social sciences can lay claim to the power of establishing permanently valid truths. But, so far as the physical sciences go at any rate, there is a general disposition to attribute a certainty to the propositions which emerge from their study. Such a certainty and exactitude would be quite out of place when applied to the results of historical studies. Any attempt to attach to the findings of an historian, or of a school of historians, something of the authority which, rightly or wrongly, is commonly accorded to the findings of the natural scientist, should be firmly resisted. History

is an extremely subjective pursuit and it is necessary, almost as a matter of intellectual self-preservation, to beware of the man who says that history 'proves' this or that. The limit of what he can say at best is that certain historical studies have proved it to his personal satisfaction and for the time being.

Each actual process of historical study—the 'bit of research' undertaken by any particular historian at any given time—is in itself, in its own minute and possibly unimportant way, a part of the general process of history. It is some earlier aspect of that process, of which he is himself a part, that the historian, in the nature of his pursuit, is attempting to isolate, to examine and to describe. And it may be that at some time in the future—in ten, fifty, a hundred years perhaps—someone else may think it worth while to subject the proceedings of the particular historical researcher to something of the same process as that to which he subjected the object of his study. This of course is far from an original but it is a rather specialized reflection. Few subjects are more interesting to most historians than that of the history of history. But it is one which is hardly likely of itself to attract the attention of the student from another field, for example that of race relations, who wishes to make use of history. Yet to use history without a minimum of understanding of what the use of history involves is perhaps presumptuous and certain to be misleading. If anyone means to refer to history in the pursuit of his own interests, to set his own subject in its historical context, or—most perilous path of all—to seek for historical parallels to current happenings, it is important that he should at least realize that the history of history does exist. Except perhaps with regard to a very few matters of importance and a large number of matters of no importance whatever, the 'verdict of history' is a mere journalistic convenience. It is not something which is once given and thereafter shares the principal quality once attributed to Medo-Persian legislation. So long as some aspect of the past continues to arouse the interest of historians, there is a perpetual process of sifting over the evidence, a perpetual re-examination of the more exciting and the more attractive witnesses. Meanwhile the summing-up goes on from professorial chairs, in books, some of which are read by more people than seems decent to many professors, and under the harsh lights of the television studios. All this time, of course, the jury is perpetually out and the odds are that it is divided, at any rate about everything except the incompetence and the bias of the summing-up.

To say all this is, of course, only to utter a warning against the temptation to look to history for the things which it cannot offer, which is very far from saying that we ought not to look at history at all in connexion with any attempt to analyse a contemporary problem. We could scarcely avoid doing so, even if we wished, for history after all is the greater part of our experience. But it is only experience. That is to say it is subjective and its propositions are not susceptible to empirical tests. It must not be looked to for clear-cut answers to

positive questions. Perhaps the most salutary course for those who do look for such answers—as distinct from looking for guidance or for enlightenment—from the study of the historical background of contemporary problems would be a course of reading in the historians of the past two hundred years. Edward Gibbon had qualities which, along with his learning, will very likely guarantee the status of his great work so long as English prose is widely read. Yet he had other personal qualities, along with deficiencies of knowledge inevitable in his time, which make the *Decline and Fall* an unconscious masterpiece in the misrepresentation of a great civilization—the Byzantine. It still has something to tell us about the decline and fall of the Roman Empire but it is probably even more informative about the intellectual climate of Western Europe in the late eighteenth century. Most people are familiar with some parts at least of Macaulay's famous *History of England.* It is an account of the so-called 'Glorious Revolution' of the second half of the seventeenth century which was written at the time of the high point of British liberal civilization and maritime and commercial predominance, in the middle of the nineteenth century. Like Gibbon, Macaulay is still very readable, yet most academic historians, if they were called upon to prescribe this book as a text in a university course, would be in two minds as to whether it ought to be part of a course devoted to the study of the seventeenth century, *about* which Macaulay wrote, or of a course on the middle of the nineteenth century, *during* which he wrote. For either of these subjects of study the *History* as it now stands affords a good deal of useful evidence. In historical writing you can never get away from the writer and he can never get away from himself. He cannot fail to reflect to some extent the climate of opinion in which he lives, just as he can hardly fail to some extent to influence it.

All this, of course, is very far from saying that historical studies are worthless to the student of the contemporary scene. An important part of the climate of opinion in our own day is that which demands that history should be written and written as far as possible in accordance with the available evidence. The professional historian may depend upon his colleagues to see to it that he pays respect to the laws of historical evidence and does honour to the observance of a seemly course of procedure during his historical enquiries. They may be depended upon to discuss, to criticize and review, as well as to read, most of what he writes. Thus there exists a discipline of history, not only in the literal but almost equally in the punitive sense of the word. If the necessary punishment is applied at times with a certain relish, that merely serves to illustrate the central point that historians are only human beings who, unlike some other students, do not have at their disposal any such empirical tests as might serve to justify the elevation of their findings into doctrine.

Nor are historians ever in a position to say the last word on their subject. They can never be sure that they have examined all the

evidence. Indeed, and especially with regard to the history of more recent events, it may safely be assumed that they have not. They will not, for example, have had anything like unrestricted access to the British official records for the last fifty years. And if they did have access to evidence of this kind, other considerations would be likely to cause them to restrict the use of their findings. Quite apart from the almost unavoidable factor of personal prejudice, they cannot escape being influenced by a sense of public responsibility about what might or might not be safely disclosed at any given point of time. Nor can they avoid being influenced by feelings of common humanity. Even dead historical characters will on investigation be found to have a surprising number of sensitive living relatives.

History perhaps is best seen as the use of the best available materials and techniques in pursuit of a deliberate extension of personal experience backwards in time. And history has many of the advantages and disadvantages of personal experience itself. It may be thought of as something of the life of the ages seen through one pair of eyes, whose possessor is a man of his own time. Yet unless the man who uses it will accept the discipline which years of historical study has built up he will be likely to find less salutary lessons in the study of history than the experience of life itself will insist upon administering. History more easily than life will serve to confirm a fool in his folly. It scarcely needs to be emphasized that the folly of an historian can at times be exceedingly dangerous, especially if he is active himself in other ways or happens to influence those who are. There is surely a good deal less potential danger to the rest of the world in an attitude such as that of the late Henry Ford, who described history as 'bunk', than in that of Adolf Hitler who was for ever turning to history and talking about history and who was, by all the accepted standards of historical discipline, a deplorably bad historian.

After this qualified acknowledgement of the place of history in race relations studies, we must consider in its historical context the existing interest in the study of race relations.

It is plain that problems arising from race relations, or rather from bad, or potentially bad, race relations (which are the real starting points of the current interest) are in themselves nothing new. What is perhaps new is the desire to make them the subject of serious academic study, a desire which seems to have its sources in the nature of some present discontents as plainly as the concern for the problems of war and peace produced a proliferation of chairs of international relations in the years immediately after the First World War.

It is plain that this desire arises from the anxiety with which the white peoples to-day regard their relationship with the more numerous coloured peoples—an anxiety which is often and genuinely associated with an uneasiness of conscience. Yet this problem, peculiar to the period of the apparent waning of white supremacy, is not the only one of its kind in the contemporary world. There are plenty of problems

arising from bad race relations in which white men are involved not at all, or only incidentally. And there are, and have long been, problems barely distinguishable from those we are thinking of which arise between groups of peoples both of whom are unmistakably white. There are some who would confine the term 'race' to a biological meaning, who would say that it was properly used only of 'populations' which were physically distinguishable from each other. But the relationships which arise between these physically distinguishable groups are extraordinarily similar to those arising between groups which are distinguishable only by culture or language, or by their self-identification as a group in the light of their past history. I need do no more than mention the long history of the conflicts between the Germans or the Magyars and the Slavs. Even twenty or thirty years ago a discussion of 'race relations' would not have been principally concerned with the relations between white and coloured people. There would, of course, even then have been some who were unhappy about, or anxious to justify, the fact (then still a fact) of white supremacy. But I suspect that, particularly in Britain at least and among those concerned with colonial administration, most of them would hardly have mentioned the white man in connexion with racial conflict except in regard to his position as an arbiter between Muslim and Hindu in India, between Muslim and Copt in Egypt, between Sunni and Shiah, or between Hindu and Fijian. That part of the historical process which has given rise to the current interest in race relations is very recent.

Those for whom the Hellenic origin of our civilization is an idea of importance might care to date the beginning of our race problems from the time when Alexander the Great moved deep into Asia and to the mastery of most of what was then regarded as the civilized world. For the Greeks the earliest barbarian outsiders seem merely to have been people who did not speak Greek—the word, I believe, can best be translated 'jabberers'. Greek nationalism was the creation of the circumstances of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., when conscious pride in the Hellenic achievement was at its height and when pressure from Persia was at its most acute. But exclusiveness of the blood, as it were, does not seem to have been very long lived. Alexander both saw and faced the problem of racialism, if this is what it was, and he indicated the kind of solution he wanted. He seems, during his short reign, to have been more concerned with securing the supremacy of mental than of physical characteristics, although he did insist that some of his leading generals should take Persian wives. We know nothing about the personal qualities of the ladies; I suppose we may say that an important part of the evidence has perished.

The topic of race relations among the successor states—the states into which Alexander's empire was divided—is a very interesting one on which a good deal of work has been done, most of it, of course, incidental to general history as, for example, Pierre Jouguet's *Macedonian Imperialism and the Hellenization of the East* (English edition,

1928). And there are books, notably S. Davis, *Race Relations in Ancient Egypt* (1951), which have a good deal to tell about the history of Rome in this connexion.

There is much that would seem familiar to us about the early history of Rome. The small republic established supremacy on the Italian peninsula because of the superior virtues, military and civil, of its citizenry. But is rose to wider power on the backs of soldiers of whom many were Italian rather than Roman. They built the Roman Empire without enjoying its privileges, while some Roman citizens became degenerate by the enjoyment of the fruits of domination. Prolonged disorders brought citizenship to the Italians but the Romans, it seems, knew everything about the practice of gerrymandering except the word itself, and most of the new citizens were deprived of the vote. Under the emperors, when voting had little point although citizenship had much, privilege and racial origin seem to have had very little connexion. The officer who had Paul flogged[1] was shocked to learn that he was a Roman citizen, complaining that he himself had bought his citizenship 'with a great sum'. His victim, a Syrian Jew, was 'born free'. Some of the greatest of the emperors were born in remote provinces, of parents far from Roman. The Empire had large and widely varied populations, many of whom were slaves and most perhaps, at any rate at first, no better than second-class citizens. Yet membership of the ruling and privileged minority seems to have borne little relation to racial origin.

A distinguished Roman historian has recently turned his mind to this subject with stimulating effect in the comparative study of three 'colonial' civilizations (Ronald Syme, *Colonial Elites. Rome, Spain and the Americas*, 1958) and it might well, for our purpose, repay a closer investigation. Today the ambitious and able coloured man in a white-dominated mixed community meets with resistance to his natural ambitions and is deflected into becoming the mouthpiece of coloured grievances. It is worth while reflecting, even though it might be deemed illiberal to do so, that our modern pretence of having no ruling class may be an aggravation of our racial problems. It is at least possible that if we had a non-racial class structure with access for talent to the highest levels, we might have much less serious racial problems.

There is plenty of evidence of what looks to me like race prejudice among the European peoples of the Middle Ages. There are many good books on the Crusader kingdoms and René Grousset, *L'Empire du Levant* (1946) and William Miller, *The Latins in the Levant* (1908) are excellent sources for the earliest experience of Western Europeans as colonizers. Much the best account which I know of the difference between the Western (or Frankish) and Eastern Mediterranean (or Levantine) temperaments, set out historically, is Sir Steven Runciman's *The Eastern Schism* (1955).

[1]Acts, 22: 28.

For most of us the best known and most obvious example of racial prejudice in those times was the position of the Jews. It is of course easy to argue that they constituted a special case and so no doubt they did, but only in the sense in which all historical cases are special. There is ample evidence of anti-Semitism of the familiar kind in Europe during those years. For anyone who has lived in the southern states of the United States, it is difficult not to be reminded of the term 'nigger-lover' by the accounts of the manner in which the epithet *Judenkönig* was hurled by his enemies at Albert of Austria. Yet in the second half of the thirteenth century, as at other times in European history, prejudice of this kind was by no means applied only to the Jews.

It is with some trepidation that I turn to the history of Anglo-Scottish relations, even so long ago as the time of Edward I (1272–1307). Yet what we find when we do so perhaps makes the risk worth while. Here most clearly the distinction is not racial in the biologist's sense. One can hardly suppose that a hundred Scottish babies taken at random from the Lowlands would be distinguishable—at least to a mediaeval eye—from a hundred English. Yet here too there are analogies with the kind of differences called racial. After Edward I had appropriated Scotland, the position of the great Scottish landlords was made almost untenable by the outbreak of popular hostility to the English—as English. The great nobles did not at all share in this feeling. They were not Scotsmen but Anglo-Normans, members of a single wide feudal class with interests all over Europe. But Scottish feeling—the feeling of their tenants and social inferiors—became so strong that they were obliged to take account of it. In many cases they had to face the loss either of their Scottish estates if they opposed this feeling or of their English ones if they opposed Edward. John Balliol had to choose between his Scottish lands and throne and his estates in England and Ireland. Robert Bruce had in effect already forfeited his English lands for other reasons when he threw in his lot with the Scots. After he had done so his brother Edward, another French-speaking nobleman, found himself, somewhat incongruously, at the head of a purely Celtic renascence and a revolutionary movement, in Ireland.

It is perhaps in the affairs of Ireland that our most striking analogy is to be found. The English conquest of Ireland was very much a matter of private enterprise. For more than a century groups of Anglo-Norman noblemen had been carving out estates for themselves in Ireland, largely by force. They and the merchants who followed them governed themselves by English law, although usually with scant regard for the wishes of the English king. But the Irish themselves had no part in this common law, which indeed did not recognize their existence. They continued to be subject only to their own laws and chiefs—when they could escape the purely arbitrary will of the settlers. In the latter part of the thirteenth century but before the outbreak of the revolution of which I have spoken, Irish leaders made tremendous

efforts to get the King to give Irishmen equal legal status by extending the application of the common law (of England) to the whole of Ireland. These efforts were strenuously and successfully resisted by the planter aristocracy. Of course there was a good deal more to it than mere prejudice, perhaps there always is, but lest anyone should suppose that this was not an example of 'racial' prejudice I might quote a case which I came across in the Irish Plea Rolls for the 1290s. The case concerned an assault committed in Ireland by one Englishman upon another. The defence pleaded provocation and offered as sufficient justification of the assault the fact that the defendant had been called *Hibernicus*—an Irishman—a mediaeval 'wog'? As to the modern phase of these relationships in the British Isles there is much on Ireland—pre-eminently J. L. Hammond, *Gladstone and the Irish Nation* (1938)—and the posthumous work of a distinguished British imperial historian, Sir Reginald Coupland, *Welsh and Scottish Nationalism. A Study* (1954).[1]

The principal modern race problem is of course the result of that extension of European influence across the world which has marked modern times, just as the problem of international relations in their present form is the consequence of that division of Western society into sovereign nation-states. Not the least important of those Western exports which have done so much to alter the appearance of the whole world has been the Western idea of nationality and the nation-state. We may perhaps be tempted to think of it as one of the least profitable. Certainly the concept of the sovereign nation-state, with its concomitant demand for some kind of uniformity of habit and outlook on the part of the inhabitants of each unit on the political map, has complicated race relations and done much to create race problems in their modern form. We may see this most easily, perhaps, if we look at some examples of multi-racial states where different ideas have prevailed. There is, I think, much to be learned from a study of the Ottoman Empire in its great days. It achieved some sort of federal answer to the problem of organizing a highly mixed society, although it was a federation of communities, not of territories, and the federal powers were in the hands of a dominant religious and to some extent ethnic group.[2]

One consequence of this political nationalist division of Europe and the world has been that the history of Europe as such has been all too rarely studied in recent times. Perhaps the principal hope for this is that a school of 'Occidentalists' should grow up in the universities of the East and help us to greater self-knowledge, tit-for-tat as it were.

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[1] Social anthropologists appear to have little doubt that racial and national sentiments and prejudices are basically similar. Two accounts of the emergence of modern nationalism, one in France and one in England, lend weight to this assumption: Jacques Barzun, *The French Race* (1932) and Sir T. D. Kendrick, *British Antiquity* (1950).

[2] See A. H. Hourani, *Minorities in the Arab World* (London, 1947). The most straightforward account of the Ottoman system is still A. H. Lybyer, *Ottoman Institutions* (1913). But there is an immense literature of very uneven quality. The best starting point is H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, vol. I. Part I (London, 1950).

Meanwhile, however, we are left with the nationalization of historical studies and a consequent weakness in them which particularly applies to the history of Europe overseas. There are plenty of professors, in both the titular and the other sense, of imperial history but none of them so far as I know deserve to be called such without qualification. They are in fact professors and students of British or French, Dutch or Spanish, expansion and imperial history.

One of the immediate advantages of the study of history from the point of view of race relations would be, I think, the drawing together of the very considerable volume of work which has already been done into something like a coherent whole. To read many British historians one would suppose that the humane interest in race relations first became important as a result of the operation of the Protestant conscience in the English eighteenth century. I have heard a distinguished British imperial historian describe Granville Sharpe and his eighteenth century anti-slavery collaborators as the first serious students of race relations. Yet, in fact, almost all the practical problems and the moral issues which now attract increasing attention had confronted the Spaniards in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and had been resolutely tackled and almost endlessly discussed by them. Bartholomew las Casas and others stated an ideal conception of the proper relationship of the conquistadores and their American-Indian subjects.[1] More than that, the views of las Casas were in general accepted by the Spanish Government which four centuries ago was already embarked upon that battle with white settlers about the treatment of native peoples which has been familiar in our own times. In the same way Spanish writers like Marcado and Sandoval had already said pretty well all there is to say against the practice of Negro slavery before the middle of the seventeenth century.

A good deal remains to be done by way of the study of the attitude of the white peoples since the early days of their geographical expansion towards the rest of the human race.[2] I use the word attitude advisedly because here, as it seems to me, is the crux of the matter. After all, what has determined the pattern of white behaviour from time to time was not what the peoples of other places were like but what they were thought to be like. And, equally important, what the white peoples thought about themselves determined their behaviour.

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[1] See L. Hanke, *The Struggle for Justice in the Spanish Conquest of America* (1947) and more recently *Aristotle and the American Indians* (1959). On the Spanish Empire in general C. H. Haring, *The Spanish Empire in America* (1947) and J. H. Parry, *The Spanish Theory of Empire in the Sixteenth Century* (1940). Also W. L. Schurz, *This New World* (1954).

[2] There is a learned, thorough and illuminating study of the contacts of bustling, uncomprehending Westerners and their government with an ancient, utterly different and no less uncomprehending civilization, in J. K. Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast* (1953). Early—and more cultivated—Europeans were highly susceptible to Chinese influences; see Geoffrey Hudson's revealing and stimulating *Europe and China* (1931). Sir G. B. Sansom has written a comprehensive masterpiece, *The Western World and Japan* (1950) and see C. R. Boxer on an astonishing and illuminating episode of which most Western readers will be entirely ignorant—*The Christian Century in Japan, 1549–1650* (1951). K. M. Pannikar, *Asia and Western Dominance* (1953) is an account of Western enterprise from the receiving end, as it were.

The study of the history of the white man in this connexion seems to me to fall naturally into two parts although, as always, these parts are by no means water-tight. First, there has been the attitude of white thinkers, white public opinion and white governments in Europe itself and the expression given to it by European administrators, military officers and missionaries overseas; secondly, there has been a steady, and sometimes an extensive, emigration of Europeans who in the areas of their new homes have developed their own points of view which, in turn, have modified metropolitan opinion. There have been two major inter-acting forces: first, that body of opinion, of the kind which I have termed metropolitan, which has tried to face the problems of race relations from the standpoint of the main stream of Western thought, whether religious or otherwise.[1] In general, this has been the source of the policy of European governments and the source too of the public opinion which has lain behind and sometimes run ahead of them. Secondly, there has been the influence of the emigrants, and their point of view, I would suggest, has been different not so much because their experience has been greater but more for the very reasons which have led most of them to undertake the enterprise of going overseas and thus to acquire their special experiences. The urge which took them abroad in the first place and which has persisted through their residence abroad has strongly coloured their view of the native peoples with whom they have come into contact and largely determined their attitude to them. Except for the relatively few scholarly inquirers, the missionaries with their special purposes and the soldiers and administrators who have gone overseas on duty, most Europeans who have come into voluntary contact with other races have done so in the conscious pursuit of social, political and economic self-betterment. This was true of the earliest period of European expansion and it is certainly true today. Professor Boxer, commenting on ill manners among sixteenth century Portuguese in the Far East, wrote 'every peasant thought himself a *fidalgo* as soon as he rounded the Cape'.[2] In a later book, writing of the Portuguese and Spaniards in Brazil, he mentions the *afan de nobleza*,[3] the mania for passing as gentlefolk. The brutality which often accompanied the first Spanish conquests and settlements in South America was to some extent redeemed by the concern of the Spanish government at home for the welfare of the conquered Indians. But governmental attempts to prevent abuse were greatly handicapped by the unco-operativeness of the colonists in America—most of whom would not have gone there at all if it had not been for the prospect of someone or something to exploit. This

[1] For example of such attitudes from British history, see Edward Crankshaw, *The Forsaken Idea* (1952) and 'Philip Woodruff', *The Men who Ruled India*: *The Founders* (1953) and *The Guardians* (1954). Eric Stokes, *The English Utilitarians and India* (1959) shows earnest (and highly theoretical) benevolence in action. A. P. Thornton, *The Imperial Idea and its Enemies* (1959) traces the fate of the idea of government *for* the coloured peoples after Disraeli had dressed it up for electoral purposes.

[2] C. R. Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East, 1550–1770* (1948).

[3] C. R. Boxer, *Salvador de Sa and the Struggle for Brazil and Angola, 1549–1650* (1951).

conflict of views on race is perhaps only part of a deeper conflict to which racial issues have given rise but it is, I suggest, crucial. This is why I have given so much prominence here to the white man's conscience. Perhaps it would be as good to say that it is a conflict of two kinds of pride. Certainly it is undoubtedly bound up with what I suggest is the most immediately important and potentially fruitful field for historical studies in race relations, that of the white man's picture of himself. For this is one of the subjects in which what people think matters a great deal more than what they are.

PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS IN PREJUDICE

H. V. DICKS

This paper was read at the fourth Conference of the Working Group on the Diminution of Prejudice which took place at the Royal Commonwealth Society in London on February 14, 1959. The Group was formed as a result of a United Nations Conference held at Geneva in 1955 on the Eradication of Prejudice and Discrimination, when it was suggested that Non-Governmental Organizations should do some independent research and thinking on the subject. It consists of a number of educationists and experts in sociology and psychology, and it is sponsored by the British constituents of three Non-Governmental Organizations in consultative status with the United Nations: the World Federation for Mental Health, the Society of Friends and the Consultative Council of Jewish Organizations. At its third conference the group dealt with the educational aspect of the problem of prejudice and it was decided that, at their next meeting, special consideration should be given to the psychological factors involved. The result was that an eminent psychiatrist, Dr. H. V. Dicks, was invited to lead the discussion which he did by means of the following paper:

I. INTRODUCTORY

The object of this paper is to present a condensed statement for non-technical readers concerning interpretations of *prejudice* from the angle of psychiatric clinical practice. It is a partial statement, not only because it does not claim to be exhaustive or to have covered all views expressed in the world's vast literature on the subject. It is partial also in the sense that it deals with prejudice as it manifests in individuals, notably in members of modern literate, complex societies. There will be little reference to social, anthropological or historical aspects of prejudice or to its practical outcome, because the writer is mainly a clinician with experience of the intimate motives of persons. The only quantitative study of epidemic prejudice in action he has undertaken was some 15 years ago, in the field of Nazi mass ideology. Even then the relation between personality development and degree of fanaticism was the focus of interest (Refs. 1, 2, 3).

This paper, then, seeks to clarify the origins and components of prejudice in the individual mind. The chief questions that require to be answered, if this is possible in the present state of knowledge, are:

1. What is the nature and origin of individuals' prejudices ?
2. How does prejudice come to persist in individuals; in other words, what needs or purposes does it serve for the personality?
3. Under what conditions and by what means does individual prejudice spread or come to be shared among persons, becoming a group phenomenon?

If the answers to these three questions could be fully known, then society would have at least a 'pathology' of the condition and could, if

the will was there, set about undercutting the roots of *prejudiced behaviour* in people and groups. Discrimination and persecution against objects of prejudice would become material for therapy instead of being elevated to the dignity of political acts as they so often still are.

The present paper can only claim to deal with the first and second of these questions. The third question lies largely in the province of the social scientist, who must, in the writer's view, none the less also use the insights of the psychologist to give a sufficient account of the group phenomena he studies, just as the student of personality must reckon with the influence of social factors on the individual.

II. THE NATURE OF PREJUDICE

Prejudice may be defined as a bias or leaning of feeling, favourable or unfavourable, in regard to *categories* of objects of perception prior to testing the reality or validity of such a feeling. Thus prejudice is a pre-logical way of evaluating objects. This makes us ask whether it might be a feature of an immature, childlike mind. Lest we ourselves become prejudiced about prejudice, it should be said at once that such pre-rational, intuitive or emotional judgements about phenomena, often observed in children, have obvious survival value for the human species and are universally distributed. Many prejudices turn out to be sound and protective. They are, as it were, self- or group-preservative intimations from the history of all living beings. For example, a small child clings to its mother with varying degrees of fear at the approach of strangers or large animals, the experience of loud noises and other novel encounters. The *fear of the unknown* is a safer guide to man in his individual or social infancy than over-confidence in entering into relation with untested objects. For an individual, the prejudice expressed in some such words as 'I don't like the look of that fellow' has often meant alertness and safety, even if at other times it has meant a false judgment, resulting in needless rejection. The oldest morality stories to this effect are fairy tales. In one set we are taught that 'all is not gold that glitters'. In another set—that an ugly little dwarf or a frog may conceal a good fairy or a prince. Fantasy has to be understood before it is discarded. This point is laboured in order to place the topic in perspective. Prejudice is part of the equipment of the human mind in part out-dated—or so we think—by the development of rational attitudes about our environment. Education, liberal ideas and institutions have very lately in the human story persuaded some small segments of humanity that the world is a safe, understood place in which no dangers lurk from the unknown. Prejudice rules in the absence of this comforting enlightenment.

The overcoming of pre-rational fear and aversion against objects (and situations) felt to be threatening to the self is one of the aims of liberal education and training. Realistic, including scientific, knowledge is one of humanity's tools in this process of learning. A more important tool, as educators know, is an atmosphere of emotional

security. To accept attitude change, to overcome fear and hate of unknown objects, the child (and possibly the primitive man too) has to be sure that the parent figure who introduces the new object is himself a good and safe person. Instinctive trust is also a prejudice. More basically still, the child has first to *learn* that the parent himself or herself *is* a preponderantly safe, loving person. This is not something we are born with, ready-made. At deep, early levels of human development significant psychological objects (the parents being the earliest and most important) are perceived crudely in terms of love and hate, according to whether they gratify or frustrate the child's needs of the moment. To this fierce primal ambiguity of feeling we give the name of *ambivalence*. This conflictful emotional state invests the parent with the same feelings as the self is experiencing. The hated, feared, frustrating part of the parent is felt as a hater and persecutor. The loved, gratifying, reassurance-giving part of the parent is felt to be good, loving and protective. The most intense phase of this conflict between good and bad, love and hate inside the mind towards what are not yet complete objects of apperception is played out at a very early age (Refs. 4, 5).

The outcome of this struggle between good and evil for each personality appears to depend on the interaction between the innate capacities of the human being for maturation and the quality and consistency of parental devotion and skills which aid such maturing. These vary not only from individual to individual, but also in cultures and subcultures of different societies.

In the favourable case, the developing child will come to feel safe to tolerate within itself ambivalence because it sees the parents tolerate and master their own anger and hate as well as the child's in a loving way. Its own greed, hate and aggressivity will be securely transformed into socially valuable traits, notably strength of character, independence and inner autonomy, because the parent feels safe and good. It will have no unsettled scores with childhood's bogeys to bias its world image. In the unfavourable case, which concerns us here, such a reassuring climate of tolerance for the child's early aggressive and sensuous drives is absent. If the real environment seems to confirm the distorted images of hostile, persecuting parents in his inner world, innate defence mechanisms come strongly into action. There occurs a protective sealing off of the dangerous feelings surrounding these potent images. They disappear from sight, but they are also precluded from being humanized by later maturation. This emotional arrest leads to a diminution in creative energy, to conformity and lack of independence. So much energy is taken up by defending oneself against the hidden dangers inside. In this defensive posture the other 'half' of the ambivalence, namely, the need for love and security, comes to the rescue. The bad objects and their surrounding feelings are split off from the good objects. Thus the child protects himself from the consequences of his own aggression by repressing it and by

assuming a docile, conformist, authority-loving demeanour. Because the fear of the parent-object was so great (not only by attribution to it of the child's own hate but also because of its real behaviour), the chief wishes that remain conscious are to propitiate or avoid. Fatefully however, the submerged hate and fear of the bad objects and surrounding feelings persist in the unconscious, strongly influencing the perception of the world, into which these feelings are *projected*. If the parent who is feared were full of prejudice, the child would be likely to express his conformity by taking over the same attitudes.[1]

The more massive the unconscious fantasy distortions of reality, the less able we are to evaluate conscious experience and to use our adult mind to correct the distortion. This state reaches its extreme in that total breakdown of reality-testing known as insanity. Here fantasy has taken charge, the weakly developed reality function of the mind cannot any longer be used to scan percepts which instead are subjectively interpreted as persecutory or terrifying distortions—hallucinations and delusions. Less complete, but obvious enough to the untrained observer, are the 'phobias' and aversions. We revolt at rice pudding because it excites our memory of weaning frustrations and the battle of wills with an angry mother. A man who feels compelled to cross the road when he sees a police constable approaching is clearly being influenced by pre-rational fantasies about the 'badness' of authority figures, in defiance of his conscious knowledge of the well understood role of a patrolman in guarding the peace.

Perhaps the general nature of prejudice, its relation to the development of the personality and its place on a scale of mental maturity, is now fairly clear. We can proceed to a closer examination of the conditions for the development of those particular prejudices which affect race relations—xenophobia (or fear of strangers) and ethnocentricity (or anxious in-group exclusiveness) in their causal connexions with what has been stated.

III. THE MOTIVATIONS OF ETHNIC PREJUDICE

Allusion was made to the protective function which prejudices may fulfil for individuals. How this works may be clarified by our two simple examples. The man who had to avoid meeting the constable (an actual case) was *transferring* certain vague fears about his relations to authority from an unrecognized inner 'complex' to this figure symbolizing 'Authority'. All he knew at first was this uneasiness. As treatment progressed he learnt that he had repressed the hate and

[1] By *projection* psychology means the attribution to outside objects of feelings and intentions present in the mind (usually unconscious) and denied as existing there. Cf. the 'mote in the brother's eye', while not recognizing 'the beam' in one's own. Marked persistence of projection thus results in a lack of autonomy. The 'projective' person feels that it is *outside* events which determine his fate. He will divide his world into hostile, persecuting figures, and into benign, noble, to-be-sought idealized figures. This is the way in which the immature ambivalence interprets the world. The prejudiced personality, in other words, sees objects still more or less as black and white: e.g. glorious quasi-divine *Fuehrer* and evil, destructive foreigner.

fear for the frightening father of his childhood. Similarly, the person who feels revulsion against rice pudding *displaces* the anger and rebellion from the coercing, depriving authority to the object that authority was associated with. The protective function of these phobias lies in their *enabling the subject to release some of the unconscious ambivalence against a substitute for the original target-object of his hate or fear, while also avoiding the catastrophic implications of becoming aware of these feelings against the original object—say his own father or mother.*

Perhaps the most graphic way of displaying the roots of prejudice is to quote a case study which goes to the heart of our problem and also illustrates the kind of data on which psychiatric statements about the nature of mental phenomena are based:

A 35-year-old well-educated married white Rhodesian man sought treatment for his intolerable tension and inferiority feelings in the presence of his chief, a masterful man. During these contacts he would become aware of compelling thoughts of his chief's genitals, and of shame about his own, which disturbed him greatly. That the chief, like other teachers and superiors before him, was a substitute for his severe puritan father was soon clear from his own account, which showed moreover that the father had stood as a symbol of guilt and terror in his son's fears about sexual experimentation in childhood. The interesting event in treatment was the following dream the patient related: 'I am picking tomatoes in the garden—there suddenly loom up three Indians in long white robes, one of whom threatens me with a sword, saying "You and I are after the same thing". I flee, and when at a safe distance I find myself pointing a revolver at him which is a superior weapon, but it did not go off . . .' He was asked to say what came to his mind. The tomatoes, he said, were forbidden luscious fruit—his childish sexual wishes. The Indians (in reality only one mattered—multiplication is a dream way of emphasis) suggested to his mind—

(a) The scare of 'black men' associated in his country even more than in European children with danger and attack;
(b) child marriage of India's past;
(c) the robes reminded him of his father's old-fashioned nightshirt;
(d) the sword suddenly produced the image of a 'huge penis';
(e) the revolver—his own would-be superior but in fact hopeless resistance, like his puny sexual organs compared to the big man's.

With the dream's therapeutic meaning for this man we need not be concerned; but it helped. Nor do I quote this dream chiefly because the dreamer happened to be African White, for this was 25 years ago. The dream imagery and its emotional associations demonstrate, first, how the symbol of the menacing Indian combines opposite, or ambivalent, meanings. The coloured man stands as a substitute for the father—powerful and envied for his potency in crude sexual terms. By

comparison with him our man feels weak and inferior. He stands also directly as a threat—a coloured thug who wants 'the same things' as the dreamer and will obviously win against the poor little fellow. But he also stands for that dangerous primitive sexuality in the depths of the dreamer's own mind which is denoted by the idea of 'child marriage', i.e. premature indulgence not permitted to most children. That is, the Indian—the coloured man—is also a symbol of secret sexual wishes, of the longing to be big and strong and uninhibited. It is as if we were witnessing the genesis of race hatred from its several deep fantasy roots. Only this man happened to deflect his aversion, or prejudice, to direct representatives of the father—his bosses, who to him were the hated, envied, dreaded 'bad objects' which the dream revealed. Here was an insecure, inferiority-ridden man who, like Walter Mitty, had a secret need to rival and outdo the big fellows whose authoritarian strictness he hated. But his superior modern weapon was no match for these primitive giant foes. The dream embodied a parricidal theme. Socially he was courteous, modest and deferential.

We can now glance at the varieties of unconscious motivations for ethnic prejudices compressed for us in the dream of a civilized polite person. We will draw on evidence from the statements collected from sample populations by students of prejudice. These will comprise the writer's own studies and excerpts from others (see Refs. 6, 7, 8, 9 and 3).

The dream cited and interpreted shows two major divisions in the meaning of the symbols:

(A) The figure represents an object stronger than and threatening to the self, inducing a sense of inferiority and powerlessness in him.

(B) The figure represents the self's repressed or feared tendencies, such as parricide or other aggressive trends; or sex, self-indulgence or greed. In this latter sense the figure may be called a *scapegoat* who carries one's rejected or denied shortcomings or vices and the guilt feelings associated with them.

It should be emphasized once more that the symbolic figures of the dream are in both cases the recipients of *displaced* or *transferred* feelings of the dreamer which originally were meant for someone else—an important object, such as the father, or for one's own feared submerged self: this is the essential psychological dynamism in xenophobia and other forms of ethnic prejudice.

In clinical studies of real persons with prejudice, the two categories are frequently ambivalently mixed, just as in the dream. The division merely aids analytical clarification.

A. THE STRANGER AS SYMBOL OF THREAT FROM OUTSIDE

The prototype of the Indian menacing the dreamer with a large sword was the avenging persecuting father, into whom one's own

stifled rage against him was *projected*, and who now in turn threatens one. This is, as it were, the model of the threat from outside.

A typical and wide-spread class of projections to which such a threat can be deflected is concerned with *hidden conspiracies* against the self by powers which are felt to operate by secret manipulations of events. Certain trans-national bodies who, in reality, possess considerable wealth or power or influence, lend themselves to this imagery: for instance Jewry (we recall the agitation over 'The Elders of Zion'); the Roman Catholic Church, and more especially the Jesuits; 'International Finance' or 'Armament Cartels'; the Comintern or 'the Communists'; the Freemasons; 'the Employers' or 'the Bosses'. Psycho-analysts and hypnotists also represent a threat as implying the possession of power to uncover one's secrets or to gain control over one's mind. The fears of what the object might do to one vary from an expectation of economic or status deprivation to actual extermination.

Thus, in the more extreme fanatics among Nazi P.O.W.s all the above symbols were encountered, projected to foreign outgroups, while the self—by extension to one's own group or nation—was 'poor little Germany surrounded on all sides', only aiming at purging the world of those hostile forces. Robb (Ref. 8) shows that his anti-Semitic sample had many subjects who were in their Rorschach[1] test responses preoccupied with attacks by aggressive masculine figures, just as our dreamer.

American observers, such as Allport, the Adorno Group, Bettelheim and Janowitz and S. Mekeel (Ref. 10) have found that individuals rarely have a single target for prejudice. Those who were anti-Semites were equally prejudiced against Negroes, Russians and British; against Government planners and labour unions (1943—when the U.S. were in the war). The common feature is the felt threat of being coerced or overcome by fiercer or more subtle or just stronger people, with the implied sense of one's own honest simplicity or weakness, often camouflaged by an assumption of rugged individualism and patriotic chauvinism. We recall the British sailor song: 'The Dutchman, the Dago, the Damn Portugee—one jolly Englishman lick them all three'. When one has projected one's hostility and inferiority feelings to an outsider or an out-group one feels better and superior inside. During wars, when there is a real enemy to be laudably hated, in-group strife diminishes and people feel good and righteous.

A variant of fear of the stranger defeating one more closely resembles rivalry between brothers—a sort of Cain jealousy. In the writer's own experience during the last war there were anti-American feelings among British soldiers based on the G.I.'s success with the English girls. Polish soldiers stationed in Scotland were hated for similar reasons of alleged greater potency and dash with women. By the psychological mechanism of compensation the same rivals had, however, to be depreciated; the Americans 'looked sloppy', had 'no soldierly bearing'

[1] The Rorschach Ink Blot test, internationally used, is one of the better-proven psychological diagnostic instruments for measuring deeper personality trends.

and so forth. Envy of the G.I.'s high pay played a big part in fantasy and reality. Robb, and Bettelheim and Janowitz report individuals talking in similar ambivalent vein about the Jews. 'They stayed at home while we fought', or 'they knew how to fix themselves the cushy jobs'—a sentiment interestingly enough most prevalent in those U.S. veterans (the sample for the latter authors' study) who themselves were not sent overseas. Here there is again an unconscious envy or rivalry motive—only this time a projection of one's own guilt and shame at having 'had it soft' and missed the glamour of fighting service.

Perhaps even more common are anti-foreign feelings based on economic and status anxiety, on apprehensions of the 'secret conspiracy' type with compensatory attribution to the powerful foreigner of 'not enough pride' or 'being dirty' and so lowering the tone, or the economic level of the given in-group of the 'good' people by undercutting the price of goods or labour. Jews and Negroes are the commonest targets for these projections; but non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants to the U.S.A., and Polish or Italian miners in Britain are equally eligible for this type of anxious projection of one's fear of failing in competition with stronger rivals, who will take the bread out of one's mouth.

B. PROJECTION TO THE STRANGER OF THE THREAT FROM INSIDE

The second main category of motives for ethnic prejudices rests on the projection of one's own rejected but still active instinctual desires to the object of prejudice. The 'stranger', which includes the representatives of ethnic minorities, is the symbol of those parts of one from which repression and guilt feelings have *alienated* one. It is, so to speak, one's own shadow that one fears and hates in him like the dreamer who thought of the Indian as one given to 'child marriage'—who, after all, was 'after the same thing as oneself'. Certain qualities in the scapegoat usually fit in. Thus in America the Negro is the stereotype for laziness, dirtiness and sexual indulgence. To some extent this is broadly true by comparison with puritan, tensely striving whites. But the *hatred* and *fear* with which these traits are invested is a measure of taboo and envy in the prejudiced themselves, of intolerance and anxiety when they see someone relaxed, close to nature, loving rhythm and the dance, somehow primitive, representing an uninhibited sexuality, a dark part of oneself. No wonder the prejudiced do their utmost to keep the Negro under—poor and 'dirty'.

Similar projections are made by Anglo-Saxons and Germans towards Latins. Thus a young graduate English patient with a severe sexual conflict dreamt of the French as embodying all his bad but exciting impulses. Similarly an ardent young Nazi P.O.W. during interview expressed his contempt and loathing for the French, whom he had only once visited for a day by crossing the Rhine in adolescence. He was full of priggish superiority because all those 'sloppy Frenchmen were

walking about with their arms round girls, so untidy and undisciplined'. German soldiers thought of Italians as very 'unmanly' because the latter were always ready for wine, women and song instead of the serious business of fighting and standing stiffly to order.

Rather different qualities are laid at the door of the Jews—again with some semblance of reality in cultural differences. In the main the attributions to Jews by anti-Semites (who have formed the commonest subject of prejudice studies) amount to greed, unscrupulous economic exploitation, clannish exclusiveness and 'cleverness', though self-indulgence and ostentatious display of wealth are also charged against them. 'They plot to get the better of the other man.' We have already mentioned how this is in one sense envy of a more apparently successful harder-working person. Here we would stress the obvious wish to do likewise: be rich, clever, have the best cars and apartments and so on—and *hate* those members of the group who succeed. Thus one can envy a scapegoat for having the psychic freedom or ability to do things which one's own training or personal inhibitions do not let one do but the wish for which one secretly harbours. Envy always contains an element of admiration.

This ambivalence was especially marked in Nazis. Their personal adherence to the narcissan cult of the strong abstinent leader-nature led many to express, as a matter of conviction, their contempt for the 'undisciplined, soft and degenerate' ways of the Western democracies, who were at the same time envied for their economic power and resources. Yet those same men would a little later state: 'The German needs discipline and an iron hand, or he would go to pieces. He is too weak for freedom' (a greatly condensed but typical sort of statement) implying insight into and inferiority about themselves, or their own group. A variant of this was the extreme ambivalent hate and fear of the Germans of those days for the Russians. The image was one of 'Asiatic sub-men', primitive, fierce and merciless, who would 'kill, rape and destroy everything in their path' (we note in passing the British first-war designation of the Germans themselves as Huns). On probing, one found, especially during the later stages of the Second War, that underneath this was a kind of admiration for the barbarous Russians, 'who had the future before them because they were still primitive, fresh and unspent'. This fear—envy of the primitive, earthy, natural, is, in the writer's view, an expression of the repressed, banished part of the self—although we can at the same time admit the historical and economic realities of the age-old Teuton–Slav struggle.

A few words on the nature of typical ethnic prejudices discovered in Russians themselves may illuminate another facet of our topic. During a psychological pilot study of Russian defectors the writer noted some of the stereotypes of prejudiced thinking in this sample of men (Ref. 9).

The chief recipients of prejudice at the personal level we are discussing were the rich and powerful and—the Jews. The rich and powerful could be both, their own privileged Soviet power holders or

foreign 'capitalists'—the latter word being a word of abuse. The common epithet was a 'fat man', or else a 'man-eater' or 'blood-sucker'. Doubtless these terms may have been propaganda clichés, but the feelings were real enough. The 'fatness' was clearly an envious term describing one who had succeeded and could indulge his greed. Jews came into this category, partly because of the original composition of the top leadership of the Communist Party. The perpetrators of the pogroms had left their ideological legacy behind them. Russians also tend to share the Nazi fantasy of their own superiority and moral ascendancy over the money-grubbing degenerate Western man, who needs to be regenerated and 'saved'. And so we have on the one side the well-proven projections of the Russian man-in-the-street towards the rich, 'alien'[1] Marxist boss who lives soft and rides in a black Zis limousine, but who himself envies the capitalist tycoon (whom he increasingly resembles). On the other side we have the Western Tory or Republican or right-wing rich man, projecting his guilt feelings into the working class and the labour movement, who are greedy and always want more. Several American studies show how the intensity of this last-named prejudice varied directly with the wealth of the interviewee.

Perhaps enough has now been said by way of illustration to show the underlying motives of a variety of ethnic prejudices. So many studies in prejudice have been conducted around anti-Semitism that one is perhaps apt to forget equally damaging but less publicized analogues. We could do with work on the prejudices coloured people have about the whites. Before leaving this aspect, it should be mentioned how often minority group members such as Jews or Negroes have themselves taken over the projections of the culture in which they live. The worst anti-Semites the writer has met (bar a few S.S. officers) have been Jews. We cannot enter into the discussion of this fascinating subject of individuals' hatred for their own culture or in-group, but merely state its existence. It seems related to the ambivalence towards one's primary group,[2] where one had inverted the situation: instead of projecting one identifies oneself with the persecutor and turns hate and guilt against the extended 'self'. In this respect the monotonous regularity with which certain 'principled' groups of British people always blame the British while exonerating the foreign power in political crises seems germane. There is, in other words, such a thing as 'counter-prejudice', itself capable of becoming fanatically held. We are also reminded of the ferocity of some moralist and pacifist campaigners. Parenticide is also a deep fantasy in mankind. The dreamer says: 'I am the bad one—the other fellow is bigger and better'.

It remains as briefly as possible to try and delineate the main types

[1] 'Alien' because to the Russian brought up as most Russians were in the traditional peasant way, the militant party zealot from the city behaved in a very un-Russian, impersonal way. Pasternak has given recent expression to this feeling in *Doctor Zhivago*.

[2] i.e. the family, whom one denies or betrays in this way. Turncoats are always unhappy people.

of human beings who are the carriers and potential propagators of high and active degrees of prejudice.

IV. THE PROFILES OF THE PREJUDICED

It was stated earlier that prejudice was part of universal human nature. It was also implied—one cannot say everything at the same time—that growing up to become a personality with or without a high degree of prejudice depended on the interaction of the individual child and its total educational and cultural milieu. Prejudiced, intolerant attitudes are, then, part of a constellation, or several constellations, of character traits. This can be taken as proven by a number of well-validated studies (Refs. 3, 7, 8 and 11). All these studies, though undertaken separately in space and time, agree on the major attributes of the prejudiced. German Nazis; samples of American college girls and veterans and of British workers, to name some of the groups studied, showed surprisingly uniform data on these attributes. These are the persons who earlier were described as having suffered from arrest of emotional maturation, in contrast to those who, without necessarily being more successful in a worldly sense, have not had to resort to rigid defences in their personalities.

The typical prejudiced person is an emotionally insecure person, however well disguised on the surface. Detailed studies show that his, or her, relationship to home background was such as to induce marked conflict in the sphere of aggression versus submission to parent figures (or substitutes—e.g. persons brought up in orphanages). He had learnt to repress his early demands and needs which included love, tolerance for his own feelings, spontaneity and dependence. In fitting in with his perception of the powers in the world as harsh and inscrutable, his own hate and resentment is buried, lying latent to emerge when a social situation rouses them into finding safe anonymous outlets. Instead we see on the surface an eager subordination, a bigoted siding with authority (whether of the Right or the Left!), leading to a number of sub-varieties of later personality. One type becomes the authoritarian zealot : conformist, stereotyped in behaviour, rigidly conventional, keeping deviant thoughts and feelings in their place, tightly defensive against tenderness, sexual needs and rebellious tendencies. They tend, if they reach positions of power or command over others (and many at least become fathers) to exact similar authoritarian conformity in subordinates. Weakness or softness, whether emotional or actual, are specially liable to evoke their aggression and hate. Hence (*inter alia*) their proneness to vent their hate of the repressed 'shadow' on such scapegoat symbols as under-privileged people and minority groups or just 'foreigners', especially if these also have the characteristics we considered under III B.

A second variant is the 'tough' type (prototype—the Fascist strong-arm man), who identifies with extreme patriotic or class ideologies, seeks himself a leader to whom he submits and joins a like-minded

group, not because of reasoned principle, but because this makes him feel good and strong, so that in ways sanctioned by his group he can express his latest aggression and hate. Apart from extreme political factions and movements, this kind of near-delinquent is often found in cynical, nihilistic big-town youth gangs of the Teddy Boy sort (cf. the Notting Hill race riots).

A further variant on the same theme is a more deceptive personality. Personal weakness and the feeling that the world is an inscrutable place predisposes this latter type, with their pre-logical, strongly emotionally wishful thinking, to superstition, fatalism and cranky utopianism, as a counterweight to pessimism and deeper hate. We need only recall the strange hotch-potch of astrology, messianic Germanism and so forth forming the ideology of a number of high Nazi leaders (ref. 12). But being so closely bound up with fear and hate these beliefs can easily assume a persecutory character with regard to some other group. Thus whereas everything German was good and pure (including blood and soil) everything Jewish was contaminated and impure, and must be purged and annihilated. Other equally delusional ideologies will occur to the reader.

A more dangerous variant is, in a sense, the opposite of this. This is the pseudo-rational, consciously 'over-realistic' man who has no 'weaknesses', no sentiment. Dedicated and hard-driving, he manages to suppress his humanity by manipulating others (usually without much regard for their needs), in restless activity and organizing fervour, almost regardless of the content or purpose of the operation, except that it has to be bigger and faster. In the Nazi state such characters had, of course, immense scope, as indeed they have in the more fanatical 'Commissar' roles of Communist society, and in the fast multiplying class of Western 'managerial personalities' for whom everything must fit into a sort of military operation.

This kind of deeply afraid but superficially over-confident personality chases the ever-elusive security from his own uncontrolled or unknown inner world by seeking to control, pigeon-hole and organize (and often persecute) everything else. A belief in technological and scientific magic, hiding a deeper anti-humanistic and anti-psychological prejudice, is part of his stock-in-trade.

All these varieties of the prejudiced personality (and there are more sub-varieties) have in common an essential pessimism (i.e. an expectation of deprivation rather than gratification). Their external conformist and even submissive trends are based on the inner image of a cruel, bad authority with whom they identify themselves. Hence, subordination to such an authority and its purposes serves them as an acceptable outlet. It follows that such characters tend to support sabre-rattling, bellicose, 'strong' policies towards foreign nations, towards minorities, subject peoples and under-privileged classes or individuals. It would be an error to identify such attitudes only with the ' reactionary Right'. Whether docile and withdrawn or tough

and over-efficient on the surface, they share a rigidity, a blinkered lack of liberal flexibility and an essential hostility to balanced objective rationality. Such a rationality rests on fearless facing of both sides of life. At bottom these prejudiced personalities cannot love life or their own and other people's goodness and worth. It is this inner emptiness of good objects which is covered over by their prejudice, their crankiness and their over-zealous need for restless activity, for causes that satisfy or sanction their hate and aggression. It must be emphasized that these characters are not sick patients in the current sense but ordinary citizens. A study (Ref. 7) has shown that there is no relation of significance between overt mental illness and the prejudiced personality.

Note on Frequency: Though this paper is not intended to be statistical, it is desirable to give some information as to the density of occurrence of these fanatically prejudiced personalities in sample populations.

In large samples of German Wehrmacht prisoners of war, fanatical Nazis amounted to 11 per cent., with a further 15 per cent. of marked, if not extreme variants of the 'prejudiced' personality as above delineated (Refs. 2 and 3).

Mekeel (Ref. 10) cites 9.4 per cent. for 1941, and 8.8 per cent. in 1943, for similar personalities (subject to cultural differences of expression) for sample populations in the U.S.A. (Bettelheim and Janowitz give 5 to 10 per cent. of extreme anti-Semites, with 30 to 60 per cent. of less marked prejudiced personalities, also Americans).

Robb (Ref. 8), in a sample of 103 British workers, found 8.7 per cent. of extreme prejudice (anti-Semitism mainly looked for) and a further 17.5 per cent. of marked but less extreme prejudice. The uniformity of this figure around 10 per cent. suggests that we are dealing with a universal distribution on a regular parabolic curve.

V. ARE THERE REMEDIES?

This paper has described some of the psychological factors which make for prejudiced attitudes. It should be pointed out that the predisposition to feel and act in prejudiced ways is a *potential*, not an actual or overt state. It required expert studies to identify and delineate the types ready to break out into racial persecution. It remains to say a few words on the conditions, political, social and economic, that have historically been the settings of outbreaks: pogroms, lynchings, witch-hunts, purge trials and so forth.

Strictly this lies outside the field of the writer's competence. The extrapolation from the causal factors in individual psychology to historical social phenomena is as yet hazardous, though it has been essayed. Our consideration of the way in which primary intra-psychic objects and feelings can be projected by fantasy and symbolism into the social and political scene lends some substance to this attempt to bridge the leap from individual to social psychology.

Sociological observers as well as psychologists are agreed that xenophobic prejudice and behaviour come to the surface when the economic or social status of a group is threatened. The Nazi movement was created by the coalescence of middle or lower-middle-class Germans of the requisite personality structure after the defeat of 1918 when not only their ethnic pride suffered humiliation but they were also rendered insecure by inflation and unemployment, and by the spectacle of a growing working-class revolutionary ferment. Fratricidal hate was deflected to the chosen scapegoats: Jews and Bolsheviks, as 'foreign'.

Similar situations, so far with less fateful consequences but ugly enough in the local context, have been described and are always occurring in many parts of the world. In times of crisis or social emergency the aggressive, hate-laden latent attitudes break out and their human carriers band together, forming foci of irrational violent feelings, rallying-cries and actions. How will such crises be prevented?

The highly prejudiced are not amenable to rational persuasion. This is both a matter of experience and theoretically deducible from the need prejudice serves in the defence of brittle and anxious personalities, and from its irrational dream-like basis, howsoever camouflaged by specious scientism or political justification. They are more likely to be impressed by a show of moral purpose and strength on the part of authorities charged with the defence of liberty and the protection of the innocent and weak. From this follows the need for very sophisticated selection of all those in a position to influence the working of the law and of democratic institutions in a humane and just way. This is a possible practical application of the psychological delineation and recognition of the prejudiced personality: exclude it from key roles in the democratic community. Institutions are moulded by the character of those working them who tend to perpetuate the character by recruitment of 'kindred spirits' and by the rewards of conforming to the preferred character type. We know how short a time it takes for a democracy or a tolerant regime to be replaced by, or change itself into totalitarianism, that apotheosis of the rule of the prejudiced. Totalitarians will not make willing changes in family life and child rearing practices designed to abolish themselves. They will promote and reward those who most zealously conform to the norm (a very different thing from mental health), while avenging themselves on the deviants. In the short run only measures of vigilance and stern legality can keep the actively prejudiced in check. In the long run measures are likely to win which promote a climate of *mores* in which diversity, tenderness and the rule of brotherly love and tolerance make the world safe for the weakest and most vulnerable—namely all children. The tolerant and insightful receive more happiness from life, even though they carry a greater conscious burden of guilt feeling and conflict. In the long run the authoritarian defeats himself because of inner hate. As has been said in the concluding words of 'The Authoritarian Personality' (Ref. 7), '. . . we need not suppose that

appeal to emotion belongs only to those who strive in the direction of fascism, while democratic propaganda must limit itself to reason and restraint. If fear and destructiveness are the major emotional sources of fascism, *eros* belongs mainly to democracy.'

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AN APPROACH TO RACE RELATIONS

PHILIP MASON

In the title of this article the indefinite article is important. This is one approach of many. It lays no claim to any finality; indeed, the only claim it makes with any certainty is that many different approaches are possible and useful. They do however tend towards a central position; they may be compared with the elevations from different angles, the section and plans, which together delineate one building.

The subject must, I suggest, in the first place be approached by the path of one of various recognized disciplines but this will necessarily involve some limitation of outlook and it will soon become necessary to extend the field of vision. A discipline is a branch of learning; the methods by which learning is acquired, and therefore the methods of teaching, to some extent affect the concept of the subject. The practitioner of a recognized discipline proceeds within boundaries which in part are dictated by his subject and in part are determined by the requirements of teaching and learning and thus in a sense are artificial. The secondary meaning of the word 'discipline' also has associations which cannot be banished and which imply limitation; limits at first imposed from without become eventually self-imposed.

To accept the limits proper to a specific discipline necessarily involves certain assumptions; there are further assumptions made by every practitioner which are personal to himself. In every judgement, even in chemistry and physics, there are implicit assumptions about the nature of being which are essentially metaphysical or religious; in such disciplines as history or economics there are also social, ethical and political assumptions. When dragged out into the light and formally stated, these assumptions may appear platitudinous; it may seem a trifle pompous to insist on parading them. It would be tedious in the extreme to rehearse them all every time one spoke, but it is, surely, a useful exercise which makes for clear thinking to lay some at least of them bare; it may be positively misleading to leave them hidden.

It is my suggestion that a useful approach to race relations may be made by the path of any one of several disciplines. For some, that will be enough; they will have revealed one aspect of the truth and will wish to go no further. For others a point will come when a conscious attempt will have to be made to break through the limits of a single discipline and to master and incorporate, necessarily in a somewhat amateurish way, something of various others. This will involve, for anyone of moderate intellectual powers, some sacrifice of purity and thoroughness in the pursuit of the original. But it will of course still be necessary to make assumptions and it will still be preferable to state them. There are four basic assumptions about human life which are relevant to all that follows and which I think it is helpful to state.

There are of course more assumptions behind these. All four are to some extent paradoxical and incapable of being stated with exclusive rigidity.

The first concerns the value of the individual and of the society in which he lives. It is good, in an absolute sense that must here remain undefined, that the individual personality should be given freedom to develop or atrophy. But each individual is part of a larger whole—in a metaphysical as well as a social and political sense, but let us confine ourselves to the two latter. The more complicated the society in which he lives the greater will be the number of groups to which he will belong; his freedom to develop must not be exercised at the expense of any of these groups considered as wholes, or of other members of them; he will thus have to accept limits to his own choice of action in the interests of others. The emphasis, as between the individual and the whole society, will shift with circumstance; the relationship between the individual and the society to which he belongs forms the stuff of politics, yet in a sense the distinction between them is unreal because neither can exist without the other.

The second and third assumptions are closely linked. One concerns the relationship between conscious and unconscious motives in the decisions of individuals; the other, the relationship between the calculated choice of leaders and the response of multitudes to forces of which they are unaware. In both respects, the assumption is that there is a spectrum or chromatic scale within which a particular case will be found to lie and that generalizations which place emphasis on either end of the scale are unlikely to be true. A crowd will sometimes act with as little use of conscious reason as a wedge of teal swerving at a shot, but Tolstoy was surely overstating when he put Napoleon's march to Moscow on a level with the swarming of bees or the migration of lemmings. At the individual end of the scale, Marlborough's theft of an army and march to the Danube and Blenheim surely constitute a historical event in which the conscious calculated reason of one man played the maximum part; nearer the centre of the scale, Winston Churchill's leadership in the summer of 1940 sprang from his deep emotional response to the situation; it inspired a similar response in the people of Britain and brought out in them qualities which might otherwise have lain hidden but which in their turn were the result of tradition, climate, food, and a whole vastly complex set of factors which had produced the leader as well as the people. Churchill roared but Britain was the lion. And his leadership was nourished by the response of the people which in turn received a fresh stimulus from leadership.

This brings us to the fourth assumption, which many people would deny, but which appears to me to follow from the second and third. No one can foretell with complete certainty how far a given person in a given situation will be governed by unconscious impulses or make a conscious act of will and reason ; nor can one ever say with complete

certainty that a community will act in such and such a way and will not be moved from its habitual trend or policy by some act of individual or corporate leadership. The second part of this proposition would be questioned even by some who admit the first, on the grounds that individual variations from an expected course will cancel out. But this does not seem to accord with experience; leadership does change history.

It is in the light of these assumptions that I would attempt to fill in the outlines of the suggested approach to the problems of human behaviour of which race relations form a part. In the first place, I think that what is useful is to study one particular situation ; this one situation may, of course, usefully be compared with others but any attempt to frame 'laws' about the behaviour of people towards each other is likely, I suggest, to be misleading, at least if the 'laws' claim any of the validity of the laws of physics. It is however worth remembering that even in physics, at least in the higher reaches, a law is a hypothesis not yet disproved. In discussing the behaviour of humans, the use of mathematical language such as 'functions' and 'variables' may be helpful as a metaphor but should not, I suggest, be regarded as more than a metaphor. Mathematics deals with highly abstract relationships; human relationships are concrete and far less simplified and for the enquirer provide a turbulent sea in which it is vain to hope for any fixed islands of rocklike dogma, comforting though these would be.

The given situation, I suggest, should be looked at in a variety of different ways, not necessarily in the order they are put in here. In relation to time, there are two points of view; first, historically, the growth of the main factors in the present situation should be traced and then, by a lateral section, the whole complex structure of the society or group of societies in their present form should be analysed. The former process seems to involve the method of history, the latter of sociology. Next comes an awareness of the characteristic psychological problems of the individuals facing this situation, from whichever side; the relationship of these individual problems to the social, political and economic trends and motives operating in the whole society will have to be discussed, also the question of how far individual feelings, attitudes and aims are expressed in institutions and overt acts. And it will then be necessary to go back and consider again how these trends in the society affect the psychology of the individual and the result of the whole situation on the lives of individuals.

I have spoken of 'a society' and it is common to think of 'race relations' as existing between racial groups within one sovereign body. But these relations within one sovereign body may affect the relations between two sovereign bodies in which the majorities think of themselves as distinguished by race. Or again, even without internal differences in one or the other, the external relations of two sovereign bodies may be affected by ideas about physical differences. These

external relations may be of even more importance for the future of mankind than the internal.

This is a highly compressed and ideal outline. It may be useful to apply this scheme of an approach to various questions raised either in a discussion which appeared in *Man*, August, 1957, Articles 145, 146, 147 and 148, or in other papers in this first number of *Race*. I shall also include in the discussion an article on 'Prejudice' by Professor Ginsberg in the *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, which might well have carried as its sub-title the title of this article.

There is in general a wide field of agreement. In the discussion in *Man*, Dr. Maurice Freedman suggests that 'race relations is not a distinct discipline' but 'a general field of study which, if it is to be fruitful, must be cultivated by scholars in the social sciences and in history'. This is entirely in accordance with what I am trying to suggest; the historian will need help from the economist, and the sociologist from the student of social psychology and the psychoanalyst; there are also contributions to be made by political science and law, and by more specialized fields of study such as public administration and industrial welfare. Biology's part is extremely valuable; having emerged from early controversy with a positive contribution in the general view that man is one species, the biologists clarified the problem by demolishing various misconceptions and to-day, by the study of blood-groups, are revealing more and more about human distribution.

Dr. Freedman goes on to the question: 'Must something of the physical anthropologist's "race" adhere to race relations ?' Again, my answer is similar to his. In the first place, it must be accepted that what we are talking about is relationships between groups of people who believe themselves to be distinguished from each other by *descent*. The limitation of the word 'race' to groups distinguished—or thought to be distinguished—by physical differences as well as descent is a further step which is comparatively recent; as late as the 'thirties, the 'race question' in South Africa had to do with English and Afrikaner and what concerned the Bantu was referred to as 'the Native question'. But it is a step which has been widely taken in popular usage as well as among physical anthropologists. And it has certain conveniences to use the term 'race' in the physical anthropologist's sense, remembering, however, that most of the differences to which the groups themselves attach importance are quantitative rather than qualitative.

This is a distinction of importance, made between on the one hand such qualities as tallness, length of arm and intelligence, which are due to a number of genes and which a person may possess in greater or lesser degree, and on the other such characteristics as blood-groups, which are absolute in that a person belongs to one blood-group or to another. The importance of the distinction lies in the facts first, that the quantitative factors do not provide a clear-cut distinction between races, and, secondly, that in most cases there is a wider range of quantitative variation within a population than there is between the averages

of several populations. What is still more important is that, as Dr. Freedman says, it is only insofar as these differences are used as classificatory devices that they are of interest to us. This judgement is based on scientific knowledge so far achieved. In the present state of knowledge, there is no reason to suppose that because there are physical differences between groups the relationship between them must be of some special kind. Indeed, it may well be a main result of one's study to show that groups who are physically different can live together happily and that cultural differences do not necessarily coincide with physical. But these propositions are no more to be assumed without evidence than their converses.

Dr. Michael Banton, in his distinguished contribution to this number, is at one both with Dr. Freedman and with me over a wide field. He agrees with us that race relations should not be regarded as a discipline in its own right. He thinks rather of race relations as a field of studies to which a number of disciplines must contribute. Among these he numbers psychology and it is clear that he thinks of the psychologist and the sociologist as people who look at the same subject from different angles and with a different emphasis; as he says, 'the psychologist considers people as individuals, taking account of the social context of behaviour only in so far as it depends upon the psychological variables. The sociologist concentrates upon the social context and pays attention only indirectly to individual variations in conduct.' He would regard it as misleading to think of 'society' and 'the individual' as opposed concepts; so do I. Mr. Richmond, in the discussion in *Man*, is not writing directly about the approach to race relations but about a particular situation; it is however clear by implication that he would not differ from this. Incidentally—and this is a digression from the main argument—Dr. Banton suggests that some five years ago, in listing the various sources to which race relations can turn for help, I omitted sociology because of a formulated doubt as to whether it could make a specific contribution. I think it was rather that I then thought of the whole subject as essentially a branch of sociology which must draw on these other forms of study.

To resume the main thread, Dr. Banton makes a distinction between the school of sociologists who concern themselves with 'behaviour' and those who concentrate on the 'group'. And in preferring the 'behaviour' school, it again seems to me that he is inclining towards the kind of approach which I have suggested. He would proceed from the study of individual cases, and is thus much less likely to leave out individual variations than the 'group' school; by this method, he will preserve, it seems to me, a better balance between the group and the individual. Where however I find myself questioning Dr. Banton is perhaps only in a matter of emphasis; but his reasons for preferring the 'behaviour' school give the impression that he is hoping to find something which in the nature of reality I do not believe can exist. He criticizes the 'group' approach not because of the danger

of ignoring individual aspects of the situation with which it is concerned, but just because it *is* particular in its application and cannot lead to a scientific hypothesis. He objects to a statement about Brazilian society, as I should, but not for my reason. I think it is a generalization which by itself is misleading because there are many variations within the range of Brazilian society; Dr. Banton's own footnote 13, for instance, describes conditions in São Paulo in terms which I suspect would be challenged in Bahia. But Dr. Banton does not like the statement because it describes 'a trend in one region' and this does not enable him 'to draw any conclusions about future changes or about relations in similar regions. The trends in every region of the world', he goes on, 'could be studied without this producing a single scientific hypothesis.' To this my answer is that there are no 'similar' regions; each has different features and it is vain to hope for a scientific hypothesis. The difference has no very serious consequences because Dr. Banton is too much of a realist to suppose that there can be any certainty now; he says that the stage of accuracy is still far off. But he does think it will be reached one day. It seems that he believes (as I do) that every region is unique—and so laws about regions are not possible. But from case-studies of individuals he appears to suggest that one day scientific accuracy may be attained. This seems to me just as unlikely as the other; the history of psycho-analysis surely suggests that the study of human individuals is as much art as science.

To deny the possibility of scientific accuracy may seem defeatist and pessimistic. But in fact there is much to be done and it can be very useful. What emerges from the work of the sociologist is, I suggest, an analogy rather than a law, a concept in terms of which another situation may be studied. This may be extremely revealing, and may lead to an understanding of what is happening somewhere else, but it may become misleading if it is thought of as a law. Take for example the general proposition that many people who are not very sure of themselves pay particular attention to membership of a group within which they may feel more at home than they can do in isolation, and that the less sure they are of themselves the more inclined they often are to be intolerant about others. In mild forms of this malaise, they become Freemasons, Elks or Buffaloes; more severe cases are Teddy-Boys or Nazis. This has been put rather differently by Mr. Anthony Richmond in the discussion in *Man*. 'Antipathy towards different groups', he writes, 'performs a positively integrated function for individual personalities and for the social systems in which they participate. It bolsters up the individual's sense of security and self-esteem on the one hand and permits in-group solidarity on the other.' It is my suggestion that this should not be regarded as a hypothesis or law but as a tendency or trend, widespread among mankind, but likely to be made manifest in various ways in various social systems. It has been very thoroughly examined in the United States, but the class structure of England is different from that of America; it is

different again in Scotland and one might expect to find this tendency working in a different kind of way in England and in Scotland and differently in both from the United States. And there will be still more differences in the case of Jamaica or Brazil.

Dr. Banton's discussion of 'social distance' suggests that the difference between his concept of a scientific hypothesis and mine of an analogy is perhaps in the end mainly a matter of words. The concept is enlarged and varied as it is applied to different kinds of societies and social groupings; its extension by envisaging three parties to each situation, *ego*, *alter* and *spectator*, makes it more flexible still—and it would be still more flexible if *ego's* attitude could be expressed first in terms of how he would like to think of himself as behaving to *alter*; secondly, of how he would tell *spectator* that he behaves; finally, of how in fact he does behave. These reactions will all be related to the society in which they occur but there will be subtle actual variations between each *ego* and the next, and so we return to the psychologist.

The article in this number of *Race* by Dr. Dicks is headed 'Psychological Factors in Prejudice' ; it is not formally directed to the problem of an approach to race relations. But since prejudice is the central feature of bad race relations, this article does admirably illustrate the psychological approach. To me this is the most immediately rewarding and revealing of all approaches; it provides an immediate understanding of familiar phenomena which otherwise are bewildering. But, as in every other approach, a point is reached where an honest enquirer is bound to see the need for other disciplines. Dr. Dicks describes the psychological structure which results in extreme prejudice as a predisposition and suggests that the potential violence inherent in the attitudes of the extremely prejudiced will break out or remain latent in accordance with conditions which are the concern of the historian and the sociologist. When the economic or social status of a group is threatened, prejudice will come to the surface and may result in action, though the traditions of the community, its ideals, its legal, political and administrative system will operate to check or encourage either violence or overt discrimination. He would no doubt agree with the comment of another psychologist[1] that the very characters who are most inclined to strong prejudice are also those who will conform to strong leadership imposed by legal and administrative institutions.

A predisposition to strong prejudice is found in about seven to ten per cent. of the population in the kinds of society with which we are familiar in the modern West. The hostility, which is really directed at an element in the subject's own personality, may be projected on to a variety of groups—Negroes, Jews, Roman Catholics, priests. It is not necessarily racial, though racialism is one of the commonest forms in our kinds of society. In these, the family unit is a man and

[1] Dr. Marie Jahoda in a lecture given at the joint Symposium held by the Royal Anthropological Institute and the Institute of Race Relations in January, 1959.

his wife and their children; since family structure plays so big a part in the structure of the personality, it would be interesting to know much more about the incidence of strong prejudice where the Hindu joint family and the caste system are the rule; history seems to indicate no marked tolerance for minorities in this form of society. Is it likely that there are any societies larger than the very small tribal group in which this malformation of the personality does not occur ? If the roots are really as Dr. Dicks suggests—and it seems unlikely that any competent analyst, whether Jungian or Freudian, would question the broad outlines of his sketch—it is hard to believe that there was not prejudice of just this kind in the Mediterranean world in Hellenistic times. Athenian history and the New Testament alike suggest that prejudice against a minority took forms, two thousand years ago, very similar to those in Hitler's Germany or in the Punjab in 1947, or on a much smaller scale in Notting Hill in 1958. Then as now, an economic threat might provide the occasion of hostility; there is a vivid account in the Acts of the Apostles, chapter 19, of one person with an economic interest stirring up a riot against a minority at Ephesus. In the Hellenistic world, it seems that it was more often because of religion than of descent that the minority was regarded as different, as of course was the case in the Punjab. But can it be argued with any certainty that descent and physical differences, as well as cultural differences, were not an element in the hostility felt for various foreign groups ? The Greeks in the classical period certainly expressed contempt for Eastern effeminacy and cowardice;[1] surely their history rings with a national pride in which no distinction was made between the cultural and physical elements which made the Hellene superior to the barbarian ?

In the symposium already referred to in *Man*, Mr. Deighton has given a historian's impressions of some aspects of racial difference and possible hostility in the ancient world. It is a subject which needs much fuller examination by historians of classical and Hellenistic periods. Mr. Deighton would clearly feel considerable doubts about the theory of those whom Dr. Freedman has referred to as the 1492 School of Race Relations; that is, put crudely, that it was with the discovery of America and the beginning of European expansion overseas that racial intolerance began, and that it is a by-product of the capitalist system. An historian questions whether the facts support this view; a psychologist indicates that it is hardly to be expected that they would; a sociologist, Dr. Banton, in this number suggests that the error arises from concentrating on the group aspect of the approach rather than on the approach from behaviour, and he would add that this applies to the whole Marxist theory of which the 1492 heresy is a branch. Surely it would also be true to say that in

[1] There is a late play of Euripides with an end perhaps by another hand, the *Orestes*, in which there occurs a Phrygian slave who clearly represents the Athenian 'stereotype' of an Asian.

part the mistake arises from giving too much emphasis to one set of human motives, the economic ?

With Mr. Deighton's thesis of the subjectivity of history (as set out in his article in *Race*), I of course agree; indeed, I am more daring than he and suspect that the conclusions of economics, psychology and sociology too have far more subjective content than most of their exponents would care to admit. I would also claim more for history than Mr. Deighton appears to; it seems to me that to put forward a cross-section of the present without reference to the dimension of time and history is as little illuminating as to draw a cross-section of a building without a plan or an elevation. No one can understand the situation in the Deep South without some knowledge of the Civil War and the carpet-baggers; no one can understand *apartheid* without some knowledge of the Trek and the Act of Union; of Slagters Nek, Majuba and Mafeking; of Piet Retief and Blood River and the Kaffir Wars. Nor—if we are thinking of relations *between* nations of different race as well as relations *within* nations which include different races—can one begin to understand the relationship of Britain and India without some knowledge of matters less easily symbolized, such as Macaulay's attitude to education—the sting of its contempt for Sanskrit and Persian as well as the more subtly galling benevolence of its desire to improve; the reactions to Western influence of men so various as Ram Mohan Roy and Tilak ; memories of Aurangzebe and Akbar. The question is not whether history has a part to play in the study of race relations, but simply of how far to go back ; one can legitimately say that a period began with the arrival of Columbus or van Riebeck, but a line drawn in history is often as arbitrary as a boundary drawn on the map of Africa. Mr. Deighton suggests Alexander's conquests in Asia as a beginning for the study of relations between East and West, but some would go back a stage further to Salamis and Marathon or even to the plains of windy Troy. A sense of proportion must be called in to help the scholar who, as he disentangles each thread of cause and effect, finds inevitably another leading further back into the past. He must, if he is to achieve anything, make up his mind to draw the line and go back no further.

One might add to Mr. Deighton's list an example illustrating two of his points. Two successive books of the Old Testament give mutually incompatible accounts of successive stages in the conquest of a settled agricultural people with an animistic fertility religion by a pastoral desert people whose religion was already puritan and monotheistic (or at any rate monolatrous), though probably much less fiercely single-minded than it became later. The evidence both of tradition and language suggests that these two peoples had mixed at an earlier stage and they are hardly likely to have been physically distinguishable, but their relationship has obvious analogies with racial situations we know and has been regarded as providing support for exclusive racial attitudes. Both accounts were put into writing

long after the events described, but the traditions recorded in *Joshua* have been far more thoroughly edited by a subjective historian and describe the conquest as a single campaign followed by the slaughter of all the native inhabitants; *Judges*, which purports to describe the later stages of the conquest, assumes a piecemeal conquest, constant mixing of the peoples and constant fallings off from monolatry to the observance of fertility rites; it seems likely to be far less thoroughly edited and much nearer the truth. There is a pleasing irony in the fact that to most modern minds the more primitive account will seem a good deal less repulsive than the version edited by the priests at a time when purity of religion was felt to involve purity of blood—that is to say, the obviously unhistorical concept of a population which had had no genetic mixture with any other population.

To return to Mr. Deighton, it is significant that he concludes with the point that in this subject it is what people think of themselves and of each other that matters. And when he speaks of the urge which drove the colonizers abroad, he is on the edge of uncharted country of wide extent. Why does economic need drive one man—or one people—to cross the seas and seek a future, another to endure poverty and stay at home ? The convention which made everyone a gentleman east of Suez has psychological as well as social causes; the first sketch drawn by Mannoni in *Psychologie de la Colonisation*[1] has not yet been adequately inked in or coloured.

Professor Morris Ginsberg in his article on 'Prejudice' is also in broad agreement with those who have contributed to the discussion here. He writes: 'The problem of ethnic prejudice throws some light on the relation between psychological and sociological modes of explanation. Whilst the analysis of its cognitive and emotional structure is essential to an understanding of prejudice, such analysis will not of itself account for the collective aspects of prejudiced behaviour or for the changes which it undergoes under different social and economic conditions.' He goes on: 'Problems of this sort cannot be fruitfully explored without considering demographic, economic and cultural conditions. It is thus clear that both the psychological and sociological modes of approach are legitimate and necessary.' He suggests that from a practical point of view the sociological enquiry might perhaps be given priority, because efforts to attack the standard of living and matters of housing, etc., which will remove the occasions for the violent display of prejudice, are more likely to be successful than any attempt at removing the psychological causes of prejudice itself.

This is a point which illustrates the concern with results which is never far distant from the minds of those interested in race relations. Dr. Dicks concludes his paper with a section headed 'Are there remedies?' This is natural for the medical man, who is trained to think in terms of diagnosis and cure. But the same clinical concern is explicit in Professor Ginsberg's article and implicit in Dr. Freedman's; it is

[1] (In English) *Prospero and Caliban*; trans. Powesland (Methuen, 1955).

there too by implication in Mr. Morris's contention (in his article in *Man*) that in East Africa the true structure of society is not built up from racial units—as the politics of Kenya and Tanganyika suggest—but from smaller and more various units, tribes, sects, castes or interests. If legal institutions did not give formal recognition to racial categories, they might come to be regarded as less significant and 'East Africa might become a society much more like Mexico or parts of the West Indies than like South Africa'. A judgement as to which is preferable here remains unstated but is clearly implied.

What then can be done? There is a wide area of agreement. This is a field of studies rather than a discipline; those who work in it must collaborate and learn from each other; there is room for synthesis, in which mastery of the various disciplines involved will almost certainly fall short of full professional competence. It is no doubt possible to enter this field of studies because of an interest purely intellectual but in fact most of the practitioners are concerned to find remedies for 'bad' race relations and their interest in 'good' race relations is comparable with a physician's interest in health. What is ultimately desirable is a process comparable to the deep analysis of an individual but applied to a whole society. To this end, many much more limited analyses of particular situations may contribute; some of these may be carried out within the scope of a single discipline, though they will benefit by an awareness of others; others in varying degrees will try to bring the methods and subject matter of other disciplines to the service of their own. The symposium will be a useful device but ultimately one would like to see the various contributions combined into one whole by a single mind—though such a mind will never be easy to find. Such a process of analysis and synthesis may remain an ideal, though Dr. Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* comes close to it; if it can be achieved, one may hope that its lessons will slowly percolate through the society in question, becoming embodied in the law, the educational system, in the pressures operating on political parties, in, to be brief, the institutions of the whole. This hope can, of course, only be entertained where the situation is fluid; where it is already rigid and racial divisions have been embodied in institutions, the effect will be different and an important factor will be the degree and form of pressure from outside.

What contributory studies are needed in the meantime? Dr. Freedman has suggested enquiries into those colonial minority populations which 'define themselves racially and see themselves only marginally as members of the societies they dominate'. And Mr. Deighton would like to see more investigation of the 'attitude of the white peoples, since the early days of their expansion, toward the rest of the human race . . .' and again 'the development of the white man's picture of himself'. One may add that the other people's picture of the white man would be at least as rewarding. And monographs are needed on places where race relations have been of importance—Fiji, Barbados, Mexico and

others—describing in detail the growth and structure of the society and the part played in it by the idea of race. Dr. Freedman would like to know more of aboriginal peoples who have not been fully absorbed, for example in India; here a useful distinction might be made between aboriginal groups who have a territorial habitat and who *prima facie* look as though they had been preserved from extinction or absorption by difficult country—people such as Sonthals, Khonds, Bhils, Gonds, Todas—and nomads who have evaded absorption by other means, peoples who are usually to be found in small groups of less than a hundred persons, which have ties of custom and dialect and ritual with other scattered groups, people such as Kanjars and Nats, or the superficially similar gypsies of Europe. All minorities who will not be absorbed are of interest, the East Indians of Trinidad, the Jews, perhaps above all that most successful of minorities, the Parsis. It is to be hoped that the survey of what is known about coloured people in Britain which is being undertaken by the Institute of Race Relations will produce a set of questions which need answers.

There is room also for much psychological work. What part do folk-lore, metaphor and the remnants of old religions play in the formation of the myths about race which contribute to prejudice in the British Isles? Does strong prejudice occur as frequently where the structure of the family is different and the part played by physical parents in training a child is not the same as in the West? Does it make a difference if the figure of authority is not the father but the mother's brother, as in matrilineal societies for instance? Is there any difference in those societies where everyone of the parents' generation has a duty to bring up the child? Might we not usefully have something more than mere surmise about the attitudes of women in the societies of which Dr. Freedman and Mr. Deighton are thinking?

There is a final point to be made. In this kind of research, it may well be that the rational powers required for logic and mathematics are less valuable than creative and imaginative faculties, a sensitive perception of the emotion behind a stylized defence, a sympathetic ability to put oneself in another man's place. The novelist or the poet may in the end have more to tell us than the research student of what a situation is like; some rational explanation of the material the poet provides may be none the less valuable for that.

CENTRAL AFRICA: THE RACE QUESTION AND THE FRANCHISE

B. T. G. CHIDZERO

It is of the essence of good government that state control should not fall under the exclusive or near-exclusive power of a single interest or narrow caste. Democracy is imperilled and misrule almost invariably arises where such an interest or caste prevails. This is precisely the tragedy of Central Africa—government in the hands of a narrow, homogeneous caste to whose common interest all others are subordinate. For the economic and social structure of Central Africa is characterized by the virtual absence of a mixed European and African middle class of any significance. Its political structure rests basically on the power of an upper economic and social class, which is also a racial class. Its electorate is narrow and virtually identical with that class. Finally, existing political parties, with the exception of Congress where it has survived repression, are the instruments of that narrow class and electorate.

On the basis of ethnological differences, there are only two politically significant classes, namely, the three hundred thousand Europeans and the seven million Africans (the Asian and Euro-African coloured communities notwithstanding). Of greater importance, however, and often overlooked, is the fact that these two classes are also identical with economic classes, so that to racial differences and the accompanying prejudices and animosities are added the hard and often more intractable social and economic differences.

The European community, though small in numerical strength, is the upper economic class. With personal incomes averaging £1,000 per annum, it alone, except for the isolated Asian and the rare African, produces the financiers, bankers, business directors and executives, large estate owners and managers, farmers, master contractors, importers and exporters, employers, mine-owners and managers and other higher economic groups. It has thus complete and effective economic control and is also the upper class professionally, for over 99 per cent. of the Federation's lawyers, doctors, educationists, engineers, etc. are drawn from this small community. It is the ruling class administratively and politically. Virtually all administrative posts and a large majority of executive posts in the Government are manned by Europeans. Thus the European community, itself less than 4 per cent. of the total population, constitutes at once the upper social, the upper economic and the ruling class.[1] It is a rigid and a monopolistic class, fearful for its future, jealously guarding its present power position, reactionary and paternalistic towards Africans generally.

[1] The concepts 'upper', 'middle' and 'lower class' are, of course, used relative to local conditions. It is clear, for instance that certain elements in the Rhodesian 'upper class' would properly fall under the English 'middle class'.

The African community, on the other hand, though constituting over 90 per cent. of the total population, is the lower economic class. With individuals living mainly either on a subsistence economy or engaged in the wage economy at monthly wages averaging from £2 for farm employees to £25 for mine-workers and industrial workers and others, it forms almost the entire working class and provides the cheap labour on which the economy of the Rhodesias is largely dependent. From it also are drawn the small shop-keepers, lorry-drivers, large numbers of brick-layers, carpenters, panel-beaters, railway-workers, domestic servants, office messengers and the like. The clerical branches of the Federal Civil Service and those of two of the three territories are also largely manned by Africans. So too, are substantial sections of the Armed Forces and the Police Force, below the rank of officer.

In brief, the African community, despite its numbers, undoubtedly constitutes the lower and weaker economic class.

African numerical preponderance and its irreversibility is for the European without question the cause of immediate political concern and of fear of eventual African control. For the present, however, quantity without quality is of little political significance. The European realizes this; his privileged position can only be maintained by the rejection of majority rule. He exploits his present qualitative superiority and near monopoly of power to create such legal, economic and political conditions as will tend to paralyse the masses while securing his own superiority. Since, however, this superiority is potentially reversible, as more Africans become educated and acquire economic strength, the present position can only be maintained in the end by restrictive and repressive measures, as is already becoming the case in the Federation, especially since the emergency.

The maintenance of the present social and economic structure, that is, of two classes which run more or less on racial lines, is necessary if the power structure is to be maintained. The creation of a true middle class, which might ensure democracy in the end, would directly wrest power from the upper class. Yet on the other hand it is realized that the maintenance of the present rigid two-class system leads to direct racial conflict and extremism on either side. Thus the ruling class is faced with a dilemma and is compelled to resort to the expedient of creating a small middle class: small enough to be politically manageable and not to threaten the upper class; big enough to absorb the more educated elements of the lower class and thus deprive the African masses of effective and trained leadership. This indeed is, in the main, the essence of the present doctrine of partnership and especially of the doctrine of 'government in civilized hands'. It is a system of government by an élite, an élite which, while accommodating certain African elements, is predominantly European.

The inter-racial problem is aggravated by the narrow nature of the electorate. The social division into an upper European class and a lower African class is carried on to affect the very composition of the

electorate and ultimately the composition and functioning of government. Southern Rhodesia, with a total population of 2,500,000, has an electorate no larger than 68,000, that is, less than 3 per cent. of the total population. Of this 68,000, fewer than 2,000 are African voters. Thus Southern Rhodesia has an electorate which is 97 per cent. European-controlled.

Northern Rhodesia, with a total population of 2,200,000, has only 26,000 voters of whom fewer than 6,000 are Africans. The territory's electorate is thus less than 2 per cent. of the total population and is 75 per cent. European-controlled.

The total Federal population is 7,500,000 and the ordinary and special voters together number 97,000 of whom fewer than 8,000 are Africans. The Federal electorate is therefore only slightly over 1 per cent. of the total population and is 91 per cent. European-controlled. Indeed the ordinary roll, which elects 44 of the 59 Federal Members of Parliament, is more than 98 per cent. European-controlled.[1]

It is abundantly clear that under these circumstances no political party needs to appeal to African voters. Indeed, it is inexpedient to do so, as European voters are likely to cast their votes for that party which more directly and effectively champions their cause. This is not necessarily to say that Europeans will vote for the more extreme political party, such as the Dominion Party, against a less right-wing party, such as the United Federal Party, but simply that no party can afford not to appeal directly to European interests in one way or another. If the United Federal Party can convince the European community that its paternalistic and restrictive attitude towards the African best destroys African opposition and best secures European interests, the Europeans are likely to vote for that party, instead of the Dominion Party, which might embark on outright repression, leading to outright violence. The voters' concern is the security of their privileged position, achieved as quietly as possible. But no party which directly seeks, for instance, to enlarge the electorate or to advance the African position immediately, can expect to receive European support. In this sense the electorate effectively controls and directs the political parties.

The Federal franchise qualifications range from the minimum of £120 annual income plus completed secondary education to the maximum of £720 annual income or property valued at £1,500 plus literacy. Now, where the average income of an African is £70 a year and that of a European £1,000 a year, and the average education facilities and attainments of the Africans are lower than those of the Europeans, it is clear that the resulting electorate must, for the foreseeable future, remain predominantly European, as it actually is. And there is reason to fear that as more Africans meet the qualifications the existing electorate could force the governing party to raise the qualifications or modify them in some manner to make it more difficult for Africans to

[1] For all the above figures, see Federal Newsletter, May 15, 1959, Annexure No. 1.

swell the electorates. This has happened twice since 1923 in Southern Rhodesia, in 1951 and 1957. The Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, has made it quite clear that any prospect of adult suffrage for Central Africa is a myth and would never be considered. He has also made it clear that government must rest always in civilized hands, that the franchise will never be lowered, and, recently, that by civilized hands he means mainly those of the European.[1]

In brief, the economic and educational qualifications favour the European community, which therefore effectively controls the electorate. The narrow electorate in turn effectively controls the behaviour of political parties and renders government responsive to a narrow section of the community. No party dare seek a mandate from the existing electorate to lower the franchise qualifications and thus produce a broad electorate. Such a mandate could never be given by the existing electorate. To ask for it at election time would be tantamount to asking for defeat. The only way the desired change could be brought about is by amending the electoral laws without a mandate and for the party taking such a step to ensure that there is no election before new voters have been registered; it might then stay in power itself and prevent a reactionary party from assuming power and repealing the amendment forthwith. But such a daring party is certainly non-existent in the Federation. The United Rhodesia Party, under Garfield Todd, came the nearest to doing so in 1957 in Southern Rhodesia; but Todd was immediately thrown out of power after having effected only a mild amendment to the electoral roll and before Africans had registered in any significant number to change the balance of power.

In general, effective alteration of the electoral laws without a mandate seems highly improbable in view of the fact that at elections the issue of the franchise almost invariably arises and parties commit themselves by promising not to alter the franchise. This they must do in order to get the support at the polls of the existing electorate. Only a self-sacrificing move or a dictatorial alteration in the interests of the nation can bring about a change. But, as we have seen, the existing parties are themselves an integral part of the existing electorate. They are the instrument of the ruling class, with whose interests they fully sympathize, and are decidedly at the mercy of the narrow electorate.

The close alliance and alignment of forces between party behaviour and racial interests impinge directly on democracy and on the legislative programme of any government. Not only does the Government party, however 'liberal', hesitate to enact liberal measures granting more political and economic rights to the disenfranchised African masses, but it is actually constrained to adopt measures which will keep the support of the existing electorate. At the same time the Opposition leaves no stone unturned to embarrass and harass the Government by raising the ugly head of racial fears, so that the Government is either immobilized and forced to maintain the *status quo*, or,

[1] *The Times*, April 11, 1959.

if it is 'liberal', can only express its liberalism in insignificant concessions to the disenfranchised masses without coming to the heart of the rightful aspirations of the majority and without tampering with the privileges of the minority.

The behaviour of the Dominion Party and the United Federal Party amply supports this contention. These parties, both overwhelmingly European, vied with each other, for instance, in the Southern Rhodesian elections of 1958, for the support of the predominantly European electorate. Indeed, Sir Edgar Whitehead, leader of the United Federal Party in Southern Rhodesia, was constrained to promise the European voters protection against African economic competition by the reservation of certain jobs for Europeans. On the other hand, Garfield Todd, Sir Edgar's predecessor, who had shown liberal tendencies in favour of the Africans and thus 'adversely' affected European interests, not only lost his premiership but was completely defeated, together with his United Rhodesia Party. The Dominion Party, which clearly championed the cause of European domination and supremacy, not only forced the United Federal Party to veer somewhat more to the right in order to retain European support and compete on more equal terms with its opponent, but also polled about half the votes and gained 13 out of 30 seats. Overnight the Dominion Party rose from being an insignificant party to become a most potent opponent of the Government party, merely by exploiting race differences and fears.

The only type of multi-racial party that can emerge and make headway as long as the electorate is predominantly European and reactionary is one which itself remains predominantly European in membership and orientation while attracting the so-called good or harmless African. In this category belong the United Federal Party and also possibly the Central Africa Party. The majority of Africans who can be elected by the European electorate appear to be those about whom the *Central African Examiner* (December 6, 1958) remarked in its editorial, with reference to Nyasaland Federal M.P.s of the United Federal Party, that the sight of them, 'let no one be deluded, . . . is a mockery of both Partnership and African representation'.

However that may be, it is quite obvious that a European electorate would not return independent-minded Africans who did not accept in some measure the existing oligarchical system of government.

The cumulative effect is not only the discrediting of so-called multi-racial parties as far as Africans are concerned, but the consolidation of the position assumed by African Congresses, which most Africans regard as the only parties which could effectively make their case heard. So-called African moderates find themselves respected by Europeans but despised by Africans. Yet, it may be surmised, the same African moderates, were they elected by a sufficiently representative electorate, could conceivably command respect from both sides and provide a potent inter-racial link. But as things are, they cannot but fail, so long as the race lines remain rigid and they are constrained to reckon

primarily with the European vote. African parliamentarians under the present system must inevitably find themselves in a quandary. Either they must support the reactionary Government and further alienate themselves from their fellow Africans and discredit multi-racial parties generally, or they must oppose the Government and make certain of their own defeat at the hands of the predominantly European electorate. Unfortunately, they have chosen the former course.

African National Congresses, when they exist at all and are not proscribed, stand little or no chance of receiving support at election time, the electorate on which to draw being virtually non-existent. In consequence, they are forced to concentrate on the necessity of broadening the electorate by lowering the qualifications or abolishing them altogether. Since the existing electorate and the European parties inevitably regard such a move as a direct threat to their very existence, their reaction is more often than not to repress and proscribe the African parties. This is precisely the case today in Southern Rhodesia. In any case, at no time have African political parties been accorded full, normal democratic means of free political organization and activity comparable to those available to European parties. The African Congress Parties have always been regarded as revolutionary and destructive of the existing régime. And so they are, and ought to be. This is only logical in view of the absence of an electorate on which they can call and rely for support. They can only hope for success if and when the electorate becomes sufficiently representative of the cause they stand for, namely, democracy, understood as political equality of individuals and majority rule. African political parties, therefore, cannot but be revolutionary as long as they are deprived of an effective electorate. In consequence, they end up—not unlike the European parties—by appealing to racial differences, fears and interests. Inevitably they identify themselves with a rigid race-group and social class and are often constrained to adopt methods of intimidation because normal democratic processes are either non-existent for them or ineffective for the attainment of full democracy. The European parties, at any rate the governing party, retaliate, resorting in panic to arbitrary measures to maintain 'order'. Thus the circle closes in, and the race conflict gathers momentum. As long as the high franchise qualifications remain what they are and the electorate what it is, disaster is inevitable.

The need for a Government which is effectively responsive to African interests instead of being at the mercy of a small section of the population can be met either by a change in the social and economic structure of the society or by a direct reform of the franchise to widen the electorate. The first method, through the creation of a large middle class of Europeans and Africans—an economic and social class with interests and loyalties which on balance outweigh racial considerations —is probably the ideal. The underlying argument is obviously that professional ties, for instance, would prove stronger than racial ties, so that African and European doctors or lawyers or businessmen will find

common cause and loyalties, transcending as much as possible the racial background. The emergence of such a class would offer the desired solution. But in the context of Central African realities, the forces of African nationalism and European intransigence in particular, the method is unrealistic. The attempt to force the emergence of an African middle class by dictatorial means would obviously alienate African loyalty and put an end to any sense of loyalty to the Government; it would thus clearly defeat its own object. In any case, present restrictive and repressive measures do not aim at this high but ill-fated objective. Rather the measures proscribing African parties and setting high franchise qualifications are directly dictated by the sectional interests of the European community. This is sheer power politics and not a benevolent tactical manoeuvre designed to create a large European–African middle class of similar interests and loyalties. The ruling class will, of course, not fail to claim the nobler aim to cover the reality. It is disturbing that most liberals in this country and elsewhere fall easy victims to this cunning rationalization of minority rule.

The other approach, the slow evolution of a middle class, cannot now be expected to work. The whole African Continent is in the grip of a convulsive and relentless change. Only a speedy, liberal response to this phenomenon can save Central Africa from disaster. There is no time for such an evolution. The time factor has suddenly become decisive. To overlook this is to fail to reckon with the key factor. On balance, it appears that the only solution lies in a reform of the franchise, immediately redressing the balance of the voting power of Europeans and Africans and producing a large segment of society with adequate political power to force parties to appeal to all sections of the population, and Government to be responsive to majority interests. What would in normal circumstances be achieved by a middle class must be achieved by a *large mixed* electorate. There need not necessarily be adult suffrage. The recent experience of Tanganyika, with an electorate predominantly African but still a small minority of the total population (about 75,000 voters out of a total population of 8,000,000), plus three-member constituencies, has made possible the election of Europeans sufficiently responsive to majority interests. The predominantly African electorate, still on the basis of a qualified franchise, reflects at once the predominantly African character of the country and the need to have, through the mechanism of the qualified franchise, an electorate which would not completely overwhelm the European and Asian communities overnight. The three-member constituencies, with each voter casting a vote for an African, an Asian and a European candidate, so that each candidate is forced to appeal to all voters regardless of colour, makes possible popular control with political safeguards for the minorities. Of course the Tanganyikan system is far from perfect. It is certainly not democracy, if by this one means majority rule and individual political equality. But it does serve a useful purpose as a transitional measure. It does effectively prepare the majority to take

over eventually and the minority to adjust itself speedily to the changing order. It effects a desirable political change with a minimum of racial animosity. Admittedly the small size of the European population in Tanganyika, 21,000 Europeans against 8,000,000 Africans (as compared with 300,000 Europeans against 7,500,000 Africans in the Federation), does render the situation easier. But in principle there is no reason why the same could not be done in the Federation. It should not be impossible, by lowering the franchise qualifications, to create an electorate which is at least half-European and half-African, if not predominantly African, and two-member constituencies, over a transitional period, leading eventually to outright majority rule. The argument that the African voter is inexperienced, that an African-controlled Government would be inefficient, corrupt and destructive of European interests, is far from convincing. The choice, in any case, is not between an efficient and responsible European-controlled Government on the one hand and an inefficient demagogic African-controlled Government on the other. Rather it is between a repressive and restrictive European minority Government, which must lead to inevitable catastrophe, on the one hand, and a Government which—whatever the initial difficulties and shortcomings—has popular support. The latter can be achieved, and must be achieved, if greater inter-racial calamity is to be avoided—by broadening the electorate, by giving the Africans effective political power to make political parties and governments truly responsive to the nation at large. The bargaining power between Europeans and Africans needs to be equalized in the first instance, for a transitional period, and then to move in the direction of majority rule, preceded by the adoption of a Bill of Rights to safeguard minorities and individuals.

The political amalgam and catalyst will not be found in the emergence of a middle class for the reasons we have seen. Present realities dictate a solution which would produce immediate results, to bring Europeans and Africans closer together. Only a broad electorate, with in the first instance at least a parity of voters between Europeans and Africans, can work.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA, 1890—1956

A SELECT SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE AND BACKGROUND MATERIALS*

ALAN R. TAYLOR AND EUGENE P. DVORIN

In the land-locked region of sub-Saharan Africa comprising the Rhodesias and Nyasaland the recent emergence of a new Federal State has attracted world-wide attention. The increasing number of political scientists investigating the contemporary problems of Africa has highlighted the need for increased knowledge of the Central African interior. The American political scientist is particularly handicapped by the sparseness of literature pertaining to the political development of British Central Africa available in the United States. In addition, researchers concerned with this region of Africa have hitherto not had the benefit of a bibliography of pertinent literature and other materials to serve as a starting point for intensive political investigation. It is the purpose of this paper to help to meet this shortcoming.

This study is not intended as a comprehensive guide to published materials relating to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Thus racial policy, geography, social problems and the economy of the Federation have been circumvented. This joint effort on the part of a Rhodesian librarian and an American political scientist purports rather to set forth, within the relevant historical context, a selection of official and unofficial publications, essays, political tracts and commentaries felt to be of particular significance in Central Africa's political evolution. Even within the limitations set forth it has been necessary to be highly selective in order that each historical period be represented as well as differing political viewpoints. This paper is based upon the researches of the authors in Central Africa, the Union of South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States.

Early History

The written records of Rhodesia date from only comparatively recent times. It was not until the fifteenth century that an approximate idea of African geography was possible. From that time until the mid-nineteenth century maps of the central interior region became more detailed, though hardly accurate. David Livingstone, the famed missionary, was the first man to make accurate maps and bring back detailed accounts of the country and peoples. Yet in the tenth and

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eleventh centuries A.D., Arabian and Persian geographers referred in their works to gold from a land that is now Rhodesia. It is considered possible that Phoenician colonists may have formed a settlement in South-Eastern Africa. The Arabs began peopling South-East Africa in about 740 A.D. and by the end of the fifteenth century the coast from the Cape of Good Hope to Mombasa was a Muslim sphere of influence. This period of Central African history is presented in *Zambesia. England's El Dorado in Africa*, by E. P. Mathers (King, Sell and Railton; Juta, [1891]) and Sir Harry H. Johnston's *A History of the Colonization of Africa by Alien Races* (Cambridge University Press, 1899). A particularly useful collection of early maps, together with brief commentary, was published in 1950 by the Rhodes–Livingstone Museum in Northern Rhodesia as No. 7 in the series of Occasional Papers under the title *The Discovery of Africa. A History of the Exploration of Africa as reflected in the maps in the collection of the Rhodes–Livingstone Museum* by H. Lane-Poole. Detailed examination and description of the famed Zimbabwe ruins in present day Mashonaland and conflicting theories as to their age and the colonizing or exploring people who built them are the subjects for treatment in A. Wilmot's *Monomotapa* (Rhodesia), *Its Monuments, and Its History from the most Ancient Times to the present Century* (Unwin, 1896) and B. G. Paver's *Zimbabwe Cavalcade: Rhodesia's Romance* (2nd ed., Cassell, 1957). Much of value concerning the history of the South-Central African interior is found in *South-East Africa 1488–1530* by Eric Axelson (Longmans, Green, 1940).

It was mostly due to Portuguese enterprise that the interior Zambezi basin was laid open. Accounts of early Portuguese contacts with the people of the interior in areas known as Makaranga and the land of Monomotapa are contained in 'The People of Early Rhodesia', by W. H. Stead, *Transactions of the Rhodesia Scientific Association* (March, 1949) and W. A. Godlonton's 'The Journeys of Antonio Fernandez—The First Known European to find the Monomotapa', *Transactions . . .* (April, 1945). A much more elementary background and account of early exploration in Central Africa is given by G. H. Tanser in *The British Central African Territories. Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland* (Wynberg; Juta, n.d.).

The Missionary Era

Though the Portuguese were the first to send missionaries to Africa it was England's later missionary effort which far surpassed that of any other nation. Dr. David Livingstone not only ushered in the scientific period of Central African exploration but also inaugurated the British missionary effort and anti-slavery movement directed to the central-interior region. Livingstone's own works are, of course, indispensable for early description of the slave trade and Bantu social institutions prior to wide-scale contact with European settlers. Livingstone's *Missionary Travels in South Africa* (Murray, 1857), *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambezi and its Tributaries* (Murray, 1865) and

Last Journals, 2 vols. (Murray, 1874) are requisite reading. Helpful secondary accounts of Livingstone's travels and contributions are given by Sir Harry Johnston in *Livingstone and the Exploration of Central Africa* (Philip and Son, 1891) and Jack Simmons in *Livingstone and Africa* (English Universities Press, 1955). An outstanding one-volume condensation of Livingstone's writings is *Livingstone's Travels*, edited by J. I. Macnair (Dent and Sons, 1954). For a brief account of the missionary movement into Central Africa covering the Congo, Angola, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland see C. P. Groves, *The Planting of Christianity in Africa* (Lutterworth, 1955) vol. III (1878–1914), chapter 4, 'The Coming of the Missionaries'. For particular reference to North-Eastern Rhodesia and Nyasaland see A. J. Hanna, *The Beginnings of Nyasaland and North-Eastern Rhodesia 1859–95* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1956), Part I, 'Christianity, Commerce and Civilization *versus* the Slave Trade'. This work, based upon a London University Ph.D. dissertation and compiled from original sources, is an important recent addition to the literature. However, some scholars feel it suffers from the author's lack of first-hand knowledge of Africa and of African social structure. In relation to missionary activity in Southern Rhodesia, see Edward C. Tabler's work, *The Far Interior. Chronicles of Pioneering in the Matabele and Mashona Countries, 1847–1879* (Balkema, 1955), Chapter IX, 'The Coming of the Missionaries and the Relaxation of the Policy of Exclusion, 1859–1865'. Two papers which should be read in conjunction with these references are Major G. Tylden's 'The Gun Trade in Central and Southern Africa', *The Northern Rhodesia Journal* (No. 1, 1953) and L. H. Gann's 'The End of the Slave Trade in British Central Africa: 1889–1912', *Rhodes–Livingstone Institute Journal* (July, 1954).

Securing the Interior

The role of the missionaries as an essential transitional element between slavery and the Bantu wars and effective and settled European governmental administration must be emphasized. The slogan that 'trade follows the flag' was reversed in Central Africa. Only after Livingstone and the later missionaries had established themselves in the interior did numbers of businessmen and the flag then follow. This transition is discussed by F. Debenham in *Nyasaland. The Land of the Lake* (H.M.S.O., 1955). Continued reports of gold by European hunters and explorers, as early as 1865, gave impetus to later European penetration. One of the most respected and influential accounts of gold in this period is *The Gold Regions of South-Eastern Africa* by Thomas Baines (E. Stanford: MacKay, 1871). Also of great contemporary importance was the discovery of the Zimbabwe ruins by Karl Mauch in 1871. His paper 'Reisen im Innernen von Süd-Afrika 1865–1872' in A. Petermann's *Geographischen Mitteilungen*, Ergänzungsheft No. 37 (Perthes, 1874), gave wide publicity to prospects of potential wealth.

At this time Germany, already establishing a foothold in South-West

Africa, planned eventually to span the peninsula of Southern Africa and connect with the Dutch–Boer republics. This would serve to cut off the British colony of the Cape of Good Hope from expansion into the Central African interior or trade with the interior. The dangers of the situation were alarmingly apparent to Cecil John Rhodes, member of the Cape Legislative Assembly and later Prime Minister of the Colony. To him the interior was a vacuum which had to be filled by Imperial Britain. At his instigation Bechuanaland, which he regarded as the 'Suez Canal' to the interior, was placed under British protection in 1885. A brief account of the strategic position of Bechuanaland and the consequent efforts of Rhodes to place it within the British sphere of influence is given by Constance E. Fripp in 'Bechuanaland and "The North" ', *Transactions of the Rhodesia Scientific Association* (March, 1949). A detailed work of high quality dealing with the problem is J. A. I. Agar-Hamilton's *The Road to the North. South Africa 1852–1886* (Longmans, Green, 1937). *The Bechuanaland Protectorate* by A. Sillery (Oxford University Press, 1952) traces the history of Bechuanaland from the beginning of the nineteenth century and should be consulted in reference to European penetration into the interior from the South.

Largely through the personal efforts of Cecil Rhodes and by virtue of his wealth, 'Zambezia', later known as Southern Rhodesia, was first effectively occupied by a mounted column of European troopers in 1890. Of the many biographies of Rhodes the most scholarly is that of Basil Williams, *Cecil Rhodes* (2nd ed., Constable, 1938). *Rhodes and Rhodesia: The Man and His Monument* is a selection of monographs published for the Rhodes Centenary (Rhodesian Graphic, 1953). In 1889 Rhodes obtained a Royal Charter and formed the British South Africa Company which formally occupied and established administration in both Southern and Northern Rhodesia between 1890 and 1894. For a brief period this region was known as 'Charterland'. The Company's first holdings in the Central African interior were gained by virtue of treaties of concession with Native chieftains. The techniques and morality of obtaining such concessions are perceptively described by H. M. Hole in *The Passing of the Black Kings* (P. Allan, 1932), pp. 192–4. T. W. Baxter gives a useful commentary in 'The Barotse Concessions', Parts I and II, *The Northern Rhodesia Journal* (June and December, 1951). Events leading up to the granting of Imperial protection, the Royal Charter, occupation, early social development and administration in Northern Rhodesia, are described in a significant study published in 1958 by Manchester University Press for the Rhodes–Livingstone Institute. This volume, *The Birth of a Plural Society: The Development of Northern Rhodesia under the British South Africa Company 1894–1914*, by L. H. Gann, is based upon original research and a detailed personal knowledge of the country. L. F. G. Anthony, in *North of the Zambezi: A Story of Northern Rhodesia* (Northern Rhodesia Information Department in association with the Publications Bureau of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland [1953]), furnishes an easily read and brief outline of

the discovery and development of Northern Rhodesia with particular emphasis upon the contributions of Cecil Rhodes. The most comprehensive account of the occupation of Southern Rhodesia and administration to 1904 is H. M. Hole's *The Making of Rhodesia* (Macmillan, 1926). This work is also valuable for references to published official sources. An interesting and informative first-hand commentary on early European settlement in Southern Rhodesia is *Rhodesia Past and Present* by S. J. Du Toit (Heinemann, 1897).

Various areas of Nyasaland were brought under British Protection between 1889 and 1891. Nyasaland came under control of the Foreign Office and was never administered by the British South Africa Company. The best contemporary account of the early history of Nyasaland is Sir Harry H. Johnston's *British Central Africa* (Methuen, 1897). A. J. Hanna's study, *The Beginnings of Nyasaland and North-Eastern Rhodesia, 1859–95* (already mentioned) is also requisite reading. *A Handbook of Nyasaland* compiled by S. S. Murray (Nyasaland: Government Printer, 1932) is a convenient reference source for the early history of the Protectorate.

In a very real sense the securing of the Central African interior was intertwined with the rise of a movement for a vast British federation or confederation extending from the Cape to Kenya. This movement extended from the nineteenth into the twentieth century and owes its origins to the political thought of Cecil Rhodes. The most valuable single source of Rhodes' pronouncements on this subject is *Cecil Rhodes: His Political Life and Speeches, 1881–1900*, by 'Vindex' (pseud.) (Chapman and Hall, 1900). Rhodes spoke of a 'United States of South Africa' which would include 'Charterland' (later Rhodesia) and British South Africa.

The Movement for Union in Southern Africa

The South African war of 1899–1902 constituted only a temporary setback to the movement for a federal South Africa. By 1907 interest had revived and, at the request of the Governor of the Cape Colony, Lord Selborne wrote *A Review of the Present Mutual Relations of the British South African Colonies* (H.M.S.O., Cd. 3564, 1907), republished with an introduction by Basil Williams (Oxford University Press, 1925), stressing the need for some type of federal union. The South African National Convention met between 1908 and 1909 to consider Lord Selborne's recommendations and to draft the constitution of the new state. Southern Rhodesian delegates participated in the Convention. The First and Second Reports, together with the Draft South Africa Act, were republished as British Command papers Cd. 4525 and Cd. 4721 of 1909. Despite strong pressures for a federal form of government the Convention ultimately decided upon a unitary state. It is significant to note that Section 150 of the South Africa Act enabled South Africa to admit at a later date into the Union 'the territories administered by the British South Africa Company', i.e., Southern and Northern

Rhodesia. The leader of the Southern Rhodesian delegation to the Convention, Sir Charles Coghlan, was strongly in favour of political union with the South and it was his view that Southern Rhodesia would eventually join the Union. J. P. R. Wallis, in his biography of Coghlan, *One Man's Hand* (Longmans, Green, 1950), outlines the reasons that made Coghlan change his mind and decide to press for self-government for Southern Rhodesia outside the Union.

The Renewal of the Charter

The Royal Charter of the B.S.A. Company was due for 'review' at the end of 25 years—in 1914. With the impending review in mind, the Directors of the Company charged H. Wilson Fox with the preparation of a series of memoranda on various topics—land, railways, Native affairs, etc.—of which the *Memorandum . . . on Constitutional, Political, Financial and Other Questions Concerning Rhodesia* (printed for information of the Board [of the British South Africa Co.], 1912) is the most important for the purpose of this study. This *Memorandum* contains a complete constitutional and political history of the two Rhodesias together with all the relevant documents, etc., in appendices. *Les Lois et l'Administration de la Rhodésie* (Établissements Émile Bruylant, 1913) by H. Rolin is, however, the best work on the political structure of Rhodesia at this time. Wilson Fox tends to justify Company action, Rolin critically interprets the motives of both settlers and Company. *Southern Rhodesia* by P. F. Hone (George Bell and Sons, 1909) is a poor substitute for Rolin, but it has the advantage of being written in English.

Differences between the European settlers and Company officials had resulted in conferences between settler and Company representatives in 1904 and 1907. Of particular importance is *Reports of the Conference between the Chartered Co. Directors and the Representatives of Public Bodies held at Bulawayo, During October of 1907* (Bulawayo, 1907). The Rhodesian League was formed to oppose renewal of the Company Charter and launched a vigorous and well publicized campaign for popular government. Publications of the League, issued from its Bulawayo headquarters, include A. C. Raymer, *Should Charter Administration be Abolished*? (1914); *Manifesto Issued by the Executive Committee of the Rhodesian League* (1912); *Report of Meeting held at Salisbury by Members of the Bulawayo Branch of the Rhodesian League* (1912). Despite this opposition the Charter was renewed in 1915 for a further period of ten years.

The First Amalgamation Proposals

On December 31, 1915 the Directors of the British South Africa Company proposed the amalgamation of the two Rhodesias and outlined the advantages of such a union. The full text of the statement is given in the *Rhodesia Herald*, December 31, 1915. Although a *Draft Rhodesia Order in Council* (Salisbury, Government Printer, 1916) was prepared, the scheme failed to gain the settlers' support. The

objections to the scheme were stated in a pamphlet by Mrs. Ethel Tawse Jollie, *The Future of Rhodesia* (Bulawayo, 1917). Comment from Northern Rhodesia on the amalgamation proposals was voiced in the *Livingstone Mail* for January, 1916 *et seq.* *The Legislative Council Debates* (Southern Rhodesia), April 25–27, 1917, constitute the most significant single source of conflicting views.

Alexander Hetherwick, a Nyasaland missionary, declared in the *Journal of the African Society* for October, 1917 that 'the River Zambezi has always been a natural boundary between Central and South Africa . . .' and recommended detaching Northern Rhodesia from Chartered rule and uniting it with Nyasaland, both territories to be administered as one protectorate under the Colonial Office. F. H. Melland, in 'A Central African Confederation', written under the pseudonym 'Africanus' in the same *Journal* in the following year (July, 1918), also dismissed the idea of amalgamation between Northern and Southern Rhodesia and recommended a confederation of Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Tanganyika, Uganda, Kenya and Ruanda-Urundi. This article contains one of the first published maps of a proposed Central African confederation. On the termination of the First World War Tanganyika and Ruanda-Urundi did not become British Colonies as Melland hoped. His 'Further Thoughts . . .' appeared in *The Journal of the African Society* for January, 1920. These three articles are interesting in as much as they show that people concerned with Central Africa were thinking in terms of federation nearly forty years ago. The schemes proposed however lacked both official and popular support.

Southern Rhodesia Achieves Self-Government

The Buxton Committee was appointed in 1921 to determine 'when and with what limitations (if any) Responsible Government should be granted to Southern Rhodesia . . . and to consider the future of Northern Rhodesia generally'. The *First Report* (Cmd. 1273, 1921) dealt with Southern Rhodesia and advocated Responsible Government provided the electorate wanted it. The *Second Report* (Cmd. 1471, 1921) pertained to Northern Rhodesia. The Committee concluded that it would be desirable for Company administration to come to an end simultaneously in both territories. There was little enthusiasm among the populace for continuing under Company administration and the electorate of Southern Rhodesia in the referendum of 1923 was faced with the choice of Responsible Government or joining the Union of South Africa as a fifth Province. The Responsible Government Association was opposed in the referendum campaign by the Rhodesia Union Association. Both groups loosed upon the electorate a large number of brochures and pamphlets. Among the principal pamphlets published by the Responsible Government Association were: L. Cripps, *Responsible Government. Facts and Figures* (1919); Sir Charles Coghlan, *Responsible Government. Two Addresses* (1919); P. A. Silburn, *Responsible Government or Absorption* (1922); *Manifesto to the People of*

Rhodesia by the Responsible Government Association (1922). The Rhodesia Union Association presented its views in *Reflections on the Constitutional Issue* (1922); *Die Afrikaner Stem* (1922); T. Fletcher, *Rhodesia and the Union* (1922); *The Case for Union* (1922).

A majority of the electorate voted in favour of Responsible Government and B.S.A. Company administration came to an end in the Rhodesias. The only comprehensive account of these events is an unpublished Cambridge Ph.D. dissertation, *The Achievement of Self-Government in Southern Rhodesia* by J. D. Fage (1949). The fate of the Amalgamation proposals of 1916 are also recorded. Although this is 'the first attempt at a dispassionate and detailed historical survey of the period 1898–1923' (preface), its value is impaired by the fact that the public records of Southern Rhodesia were not consulted. J. P. R. Wallis in his biography of Sir Charles Coghlan (already mentioned) gives a very superficial account of the same period.

After the referendum and termination of Company administration many persons in both the Rhodesias who had opposed amalgamation of the two territories gave their support to such a proposal. Especially was this so in Southern Rhodesia. The newly-formed Rhodesian Party of Southern Rhodesia adopted as part of its programme the amalgamation of the Rhodesias and 'Eventual establishment of a Central African Dominion'. *The Rhodesian Party Programme* (1924) and *To the Electors of Southern Rhodesia and to all Britons Beyond the Seas . . .* (1928) are party pamphlets containing significant references to amalgamation. Southern Rhodesia's Progressive Party, organized in 1926, advocated the formation of a 'Greater Rhodesia' (see *Progressive Party Manifesto* (1927) and *The Progressive Party. Statement of Policy* [1928]). J. W. Davidson, in *The Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council* (Faber and Faber, 1948), traces the emergence of Northern Rhodesian sentiment for closer association during this same period despite strong opposition. His primary source materials were the *Legislative Council Debates* and the *Livingstone Mail.*

The Hilton Young Commission

The first action by the Imperial Government regarding closer association in Central Africa was taken in November, 1927. The Colonial Secretary appointed a commission under the chairmanship of Sir E. Hilton Young '. . . to make recommendations as to whether, either by federation or some other form of closer union, more effective co-operation between the different governments in Central and Eastern Africa may be secured'. Capt. T. H. Murray, Member of the Legislative Council of Northern Rhodesia, was anxious to meet the Commission with concrete proposals for the amalgamation of the two Rhodesias, and he and another Unofficial held an informal conference with the Southern Rhodesia Government in March, 1928. The results of this conference were published in the *Livingstone Mail* for March 29, 1928. Murray failed to gain support for his scheme and in 1929 the *Report of the Commission on Closer Union of the Dependencies in*

Eastern and Central Africa (Cmd. 3234) was published. Hilton Young disagreed with his co-commissioners on the future of the Central African territories and submitted a separate report (pp. 252–87) recommending the division of Northern Rhodesia into three areas. The central area was to be amalgamated with Southern Rhodesia, thereby becoming 'Greater Rhodesia', while North-Eastern Rhodesia was to be amalgamated with Nyasaland and the third area, Barotseland, was to become an inalienable Native territory. The rest of the Commission favoured maintenance of the *status quo*. 'Europeans in Africa: some thoughts on the Hilton Young Report', by Mrs. Tawse Jollie, which appeared in *Countryside* for July, 1929, reflected the views of the Southern Rhodesia settler community in favour of amalgamation.

The Change of Opinion in Northern Rhodesia

In 1930 the Colonial Office published the *Memorandum on Native Policy in East Africa* (Cmd. 3573), which stressed the paramountcy of Native interests. Self-government would be given to dependencies only when the Natives were sufficiently advanced to participate. This statement caused Northern Rhodesian 'Unofficials' to give up former hopes of self-government and turn to the idea of amalgamation with Southern Rhodesia to ensure the continuation of Northern Rhodesia as a European country. Joint representations were made to the Dominions Secretary, Mr. J. H. Thomas, who replied (*House of Commons Debates*, July 2, 1931), 'His Majesty's Government are not prepared to agree to amalgamation at the present time . . . On the other hand, . . . while considering that amalgamation is not practicable now or in the near future, [they] do not wish to reject the idea in principle . . . [In discussing the conditions of any scheme of amalgamation] it should be indicated that the territory to be amalgamated with Southern Rhodesia would not necessarily have boundaries coterminous with the present boundaries of Northern Rhodesia.' From this time forward serious proposals for closer association could not overlook the inclusion of Nyasaland.

Current settler opinion in favour of the amalgamation of the two Rhodesias was put forward again by Mrs. Tawse Jollie in *United Empire* for September, 1931. L. F. Moore (later Sir Leopold Moore) continued in the same strain in the *African Observer* for July, 1935. His pungent criticisms of Colonial Office administration in Northern Rhodesia, though more emotional than accurate, did reflect the opinion of the majority of the Northern settlers. Others supported closer association but not a unitary state. Thus, in the issue of *The Rhodesian Mining World and Industrial Review* for July 2, 1932, Mr. Godfrey M. Huggins (later Lord Malvern, the first Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland) described Southern Rhodesia's future as dependent upon *federation* with Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Shortly after publication of this article, as the new Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, he was to advocate unadulterated amalgamation as best suited to Central Africa's needs. Finally he changed back again and

ended a brilliant political career supporting the federation of the three territories.

The First Victoria Falls Conference, 1936

By 1935 general dissatisfaction with Colonial Office rule in the North had united the Elected Members in a bid for amalgamation. At their instance a conference was held at the Victoria Falls in January, 1936. Although no member of the Southern Rhodesia Government was present, the conference had its approval and all political parties in Southern Rhodesia were represented. The Convention adopted the resolution '. . . that the early amalgamation of Northern and Southern Rhodesia under a constitution conferring the right of complete self-government is in the interests of both Colonies'. The *Rhodesia Herald* for January 24 carried the most comprehensive report of the convention. Representations were again made to the Imperial Government and in October, 1936 Mr. Malcolm Macdonald, then Dominions Secretary, claimed that there had been no such material change in conditions 'as would justify reconsideration of the decision reached after so much thought in 1931 . . . The unanimity reached at the Victoria Falls was obtained largely on the basis of a constitution conferring the right of complete self-government . . .'

Agitation for amalgamation continued in the press. Articles by L. F. Moore and C. F. Mitchell in the *African Observer* for March, 1936 and by G. M. Huggins in *East Africa and Rhodesia* for June 3, 1937 presented the arguments put forward by the supporters of the scheme.

In Northern Rhodesia Colonel Stewart Gore-Browne (later Sir Stewart, Elected Member for Broken Hill) referred to the 1929 proposals of Hilton Young and the statement by J. H. Thomas in 1931. He put forward similar views in a speech delivered in the Legislative Council on October 29, 1936 and reprinted as an article in the *Journal of the Royal African Society* for January, 1937. The Gore-Browne proposals contained little that was new, however, and failed to gain support.

The Bledisloe Commission, 1938

Delegates from the two Rhodesias, in London for the Coronation of King George VI (May, 1937), held further discussion with the Imperial Government and a Royal Warrant of March 9, 1938 announced the appointment of a Commission under the chairmanship of Lord Bledisloe, 'to enquire and report whether any, and if so what, form of closer co-operation or association between Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland is desirable and feasible . . .' The terms of reference stressed the special responsibility of the British Government for the interests of the Natives. This announcement brought forth from S. H. Veats an excellent factual article published in *Nineteenth Century* for September, 1938 in which he reviewed the movement for amalgamation since 1915. The report of the *Rhodesia and Nyasaland Royal Commission* (Cmd. 5949, 1939) is the most important document on closer association before the publication of the White Papers of

1951–53. Minutes of evidence were not published, but *New Rhodesia* reported all public hearings and its issues from May 27 to August 19, 1938 should be read in conjunction with the *Report*. *New Rhodesia*, published as an independent political fortnightly in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, from 1932 to 1954, provided a forum for all shades of opinion before and during the visit of the Bledisloe Commission to Africa. Arguments against amalgamation from the settlers' point of view are embodied in a pamphlet by Charles Olley, *The Case Against Amalgamation* (1938, mimeographed). The fear of African domination seemed to be uppermost in the author's mind.

The Bledisloe Commission considered that the wide disparity between the territories constituted a fundamental objection to any scheme of federation and favoured amalgamation, although this was not considered to be immediately desirable owing to the divergence in Native policies. The best review of the *Report* is by Professor S. H. Frankel in the *South African Journal of Economics* for June, 1939. The Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, Mr. G. M. Huggins, expressed his bitter disappointment with the conclusions of the Commission in the *African World* for July 29, 1939.

Lord Hailey on the Native Policies

In 1940 Lord Hailey was asked to assess the importance of the divergent Native policies on the amalgamation issue. In his *Note on the Bearing of Native Policy on the Proposed Amalgamation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland* (Colonial Office, 1941) he reviewed all aspects of Native administration in the Central African territories and concluded '. . . the divergence in native policies appears to me to remain a factor which, though not necessarily conclusive as an argument against amalgamation, must be taken into account in weighing the general advantages and disadvantages which the scheme presents'.

The Central African Council, 1945

The Second World War pushed the amalgamation issue temporarily into the background. It was not until October 18, 1944 that the Colonial Secretary was able to announce in the House of Commons the establishment of the Central African Council, thus implementing one of the recommendations of the Bledisloe Commission. The new Council was to take over the functions of the inter-territorial Governor's Conference, held annually since 1935. Editorials in the *African World* for October 21 and 28, 1944 reflected opinion on the announcement. The Colonial Office report, *The British Territories in East and Central Africa, 1945–1950* (Cmd. 7987, 1950) (pp. 29–31) gives the composition of the Council and briefly reviews its achievements over the first five years. The Southern Rhodesian Government had never been enthusiastic about the Council. Much of the dissatisfaction arose from those who felt that the Council was a poor substitute for amalgamation and that its retention might postpone amalgamation. A summary of Southern Rhodesian objections to the Council from a governmental

point of view is presented in *Central African Council. Minutes of the Eleventh Meeting Held in the Legislative Assembly, Salisbury*, January 25, 1950, mimeo., pp. 2–3.

The Post-War Period

When the war ended in 1945 the advocates of amalgamation took up the cudgels once more. Rhodesian delegates at the London Conference of the Federation of Chambers of Commerce of the British Empire (October, 1945) pressed the need for amalgamation. Sir Godfrey Huggins reiterated his reasons for desiring amalgamation in the *African World* for April, 1946. At General Elections held in 1948 the United Party, under Sir Godfrey Huggins, had been returned to power in Southern Rhodesia with amalgamation as the first point in its policy. In Northern Rhodesia Unofficial Members under Roy Welensky (later Sir Roy Welensky and now Prime Minister of the Federation) were returned to the Legislative Council with a majority in favour of amalgamation. However, the Imperial Government was adamant in its refusal to consider amalgamation, though it was not unsympathetic to any proposal for federation which might be forthcoming. Don Taylor, in his authorized biography of Sir Roy Welensky, *The Rhodesian. The Life of Sir Roy Welensky* (Museum Press, 1955), makes a contribution to the existing literature when he describes (pp. 104–6) the abandonment of amalgamation by Welensky and Huggins and their reluctant acceptance of the fact that closer political association in Central Africa must be on a federal basis or not at all.

The Second Victoria Falls Conference, 1949

At a conference held at the Victoria Falls in February, 1949 delegates from the three territories included members of the Southern Rhodesia Government and Opposition and Elected Members of the Northern Rhodesian and Nyasaland legislatures. The Conference unanimously resolved that a Federation of the three Central African territories under a constitution which would create a Federal Parliament was desirable. A committee of technical experts was established to frame the constitution and to decide the financial arrangements. Although detailed minutes of the Conference were produced, they were never published. The Rhodesian press for February 17, 1949 *et seq.* remains the best published source on the Conference.

The Conference aroused considerable interest in Britain, Africa and America. The most important press comments are listed in *A Bibliography of the Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, up to June 30, 1949* (School of Librarianship, University of Cape Town, 1949), compiled by Miss D. L. Cox. Although this contains a few spurious references and some serious omissions for the earlier period, the bibliography is useful by virtue of the fact that it stands almost alone in the field.

B. M. Orr, writing in the *African World* for May, 1949, gave a balanced and well-informed review of the pros and cons of the federal

scheme. The case for the Natives was well presented (together with the historical background) in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter and Aborigines' Friend* for July, 1949. Stanley Cooke reiterated Rhodesian commercial opinion in the *African World* for September, 1949 and Sir Godfrey Huggins stated the official viewpoint in *South Africa* for December 17, 1949.

The Federation Controversy, 1950–53

On November 8, 1950 the United Kingdom Government announced that it was prepared to discuss the formulation of a scheme for federation of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland. On October 23, 1953 the Constitution of the new Federal State came into effect. During the three-year interval the controversy over federation was carried on officially and unofficially in Central Africa and the United Kingdom and attracted considerable attention in the United States. The rapid progress of significant events in the pro- and anti-federation movements, often occurring in the several territories and the United Kingdom simultaneously, render it virtually impossible to approach the literature and background materials in a chronological order. Consequently the remaining portions of this paper are arranged in a topical, not chronological order.

Two of the most readily available journalistic accounts of the development of Central African federation are H. Maclear Bate's *Report from the Rhodesias* (Andrew Melrose, 1953) and Don Taylor's *Rainbow on the Zambezi* (Museum Press, 1953). However, both works, being undocumented, are of limited usefulness to the serious researcher. In addition, both authors are less than objective in their approach. Kenneth Kirkwood's *The Proposed Federation of the Central African Territories* (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1951), New Africa Pamphlet No. 21, is a brief but well-organized monograph, including historical material and brief commentary up to 1951.

Official Publications

The White Papers forming the 1950–1953 background to federation on the parts of the governments concerned are: *Report of Conference on Closer Association* (Cmd. 8233, 1951); *Geographical, Historical and Economic Survey* (Cmd. 8234, 1951); *Comparative Study of Native Policy* (Cmd. 8235, 1951); *Closer Association in Central Africa* (Cmd. 8411, 1951); *Draft Federal Scheme* (Cmd. 8573, 1952); *Draft Federal Scheme. Report of the Judicial Commission* (Cmd. 8671, 1952); *Draft Federal Scheme. Report of the Fiscal Commission* (Cmd. 8672, 1952); *Draft Federal Scheme. Report of the Civil Service Preparatory Commission* (Cmd. 8673, 1952); *Report by the Conference on Federation* (Cmd. 8753, 1953); *The Federal Scheme* (Cmd. 8754, 1953). These documents were published by the Stationery Office, London, and by the Government Printers in the individual Central African territories.

The official enactments bringing the Federal State into being are *Rhodesia and Nyasaland Federation Act*, 1 & 2 Eliz. 2, c. 30; *Federation*

of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (*Commencement*) *Order in Council, 1953*; *Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland* (*Constitution*) *Order in Council, 1953* (the Annexe of the Order in Council comprises the Federal Constitution). Alongside the above official documents students of the new Federation should consult the *Hansards* for the Houses of Commons and Lords, the Southern Rhodesia Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Councils of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland during the 1950–53 period for valuable expressions of divergent party views on federation.

The Pro-Federation Movement

The United Central Africa Association, operating in the United Kingdom and Central Africa, was the leading unofficial organization to influence public opinion in favour of federation by means of meetings, pamphlets and brochures. From its inception in 1952 to its dissolution the following year the Association published and distributed a number of significant pamphlets. Among these are: Lord Milverton, *African Opportunity*; Muriel E. Rosin, *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Federation and the White Paper*; *Central African Federation. A Test of African Opinion*; *Birth of a Nation. The British Purpose in Central Africa* and *Central African Federation. The Only Way to Partnership between the Races.* For a short time, beginning February 1, 1953, the U.C.A.A. published a mimeographed weekly bulletin. The most valuable single publication was not for general distribution and few copies exist today. This work, *A Reference Book for Speakers on Federation and the White Paper. A Study of the Proposals and the Arguments For and Against Them*, mimeo., by Rex Reynolds, was made available only to accredited U.C.A.A. speakers. It contains what is probably the most detailed and complete analysis of the Federal Scheme from the pro-federationist viewpoint to be found in any written source outside *Hansard.* The Association's views are also expressed in the *Rhodesia Herald*, April 3, 1953.

The Capricorn Africa Society, formed in 1949, likewise operated in Central Africa and England during the 1950–53 period. The Society supported federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland as the first step toward its 'greater aim'—an eventual federation with the East African territories and, at a later stage, the Belgian Congo and the Portuguese territories of Angola and Mozambique. Principal Society publications relating to such proposals and Capricorn doctrine at this time include *Greater Rhodesia. The London Proposals Examined* (1951); *The Capricorn Convention* (1952); *Appendix to the Capricorn Declarations and the Capricorn Convention. The Society's Notes in its Race Relations Policy* (1952); *What Would Rhodes Have Done?* (1952). After federation the Society altered portions of its doctrine. The latest expression is found in *The Capricorn Africa Society Handbook for Speakers* (1955). The Society published *Capricorn Chronicle*, a monthly newspaper. J. H. Oldham's *New Hope in Africa* (Longmans, Green, 1955) is devoted to a sympathetic interpretation of the Society's programme.

The United Kingdom Conservative Party largely reflected pro-federation sentiment. The Conservative Research Department, in conjunction with the Conservative Overseas Bureau, briefly traced the evolution of federation proposals in *A Bi-monthly Survey of Commonwealth and Colonial Affairs*, Numbers 2, 3, Special issue (June 20, 1952), 4, 5, 6, Revised Special Issue (December 31, 1952), 8 and 9.

One of the most discerning articles ever written in favour of federation is Roy Welensky's 'Development of Central Africa through Federation', *Optima* (Johannesburg), December, 1952. The weekly newspaper *East Africa and Rhodesia* (London) is an especially helpful source of pro-federation articles and editorials.

Anti-Federation Movement

The United Central Africa Association had its counterpart in the federation controversy in the Africa Bureau, which was formed in London in 1952 and was foremost among unofficial groups in the United Kingdom anti-federation campaign. Like the U.C.A.A., the Africa Bureau sponsored meetings and embarked upon a wide-scale publishing programme. The Bureau's major anti-federation publications are: A. Creech Jones, *African Challenge. The Fallacy of Federation* and *A Petition to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II Against Federation Made by Chiefs and Citizens of Nyasaland with a postscript by A. Creech Jones* (1953). Through its *Information Digest*, the Bureau's views were widely disseminated in Britain and abroad.

The Bureau worked closely with other private groups likewise opposed to federation such as the Central Africa Committee, Racial Unity and the National Peace Council. These four groups collaborated in the publication of *Our Trust in Central Africa. A Study of the Scheme for Central African Federation* (1953). The Scottish Council for African Questions was another influential United Kingdom organization in the anti-federation camp and its *Bulletins*, No. 1 (March, 1953) and No. 2 (May, 1953), set forth Council objections to the federal scheme. The Africa Bureau and these other groups opposed federation on the grounds of its being inimical to the interests of the African population.

The United Kingdom Labour Party published little on the federation issue. However, Labour's views were reflected through publications of the Fabian Colonial Bureau, which adopted an anti-federation attitude. Especially helpful Fabian publications are *British Central Africa?* (1951), *Venture*, journal of the Fabian Colonial Bureau, Special Number, 'East and Central Africa' (August–September, 1952) and *Advance to Democracy. A Report to the Fabian Colonial Bureau on the Implications of 'Partnership' in Multi-Racial Societies*, Controversy Series Number 8 (June, 1952).

The United Kingdom Liberal Party also campaigned against federation. Its principal publication is *Platform Points. Central African Federation* (July, 1952), mimeo.

In Central Africa the anti-federation movement was largely carried on, aside from African organizations, by the White Rhodesia Council,

which regarded the federal proposals as prejudiced in favour of the African and inimical to white interests. The Council, formed in 1949, represented the Central African 'white supremacy' point of view. Its President, Mr. Charles Olley, produced a number of significant anti-federation pamphlets and tracts. Among these are: *Dominion Status versus Federation*, mimeo.; *100 Facts Against Federation; The Case of the White Rhodesia Council.* Mr. Olley was editor and publisher of the *Rhodesia Monthly Review* (Salisbury), an independent publication propounding the doctrine of white supremacy. The issues published in the 1950–3 period are valuable as expositions of anti-federation sentiment based upon this doctrine. The anti-federation Rhodesia Association and the anti-federation Rhodesia League published no pamphlets or brochures, though their views on federation may be gleaned from newspaper files. The doctrine of the League, organized in 1952, is presented in the *Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), November 13, 1952, December 20, 1952 and January 1, 1953. The doctrine of the Rhodesia Association is given in the *Rhodesia Herald*, March 26, 1953 and April 7, 1953. The Rhodesia Association, in conjunction with the periodical *New Rhodesia*, published a special anti-federation issue on April 8, 1953.

Non-European attitudes toward federation are mirrored in the publications of the most influential non-European organizations. Though such literature represents a virtual unanimity of opposition to federation it must be noted that individuals of all races were active in both the pro- and anti-federation movements. The most important statement of Asian criticisms of the federation proposals is *Central African Asian Conference* (Report specially prepared for the Press), mimeo. The Conference was attended by Asian representatives of the three Central African territories and was held in Limbe, Nyasaland, July 26 to 28, 1952. A detailed statement of Asian views will also be found in the *Rhodesia Herald*, September 1, 1951. Objections to the federal proposals by the Coloured (mixed race) community, as presented by spokesmen of the various Coloured associations, appear in the *Rhodesia Herald*, August 18 and September 1, 1951 and January 5, 1953. Additional Asian and Coloured statements may be found in *East Africa and Rhodesia.*

It was African opposition which provided the main obstacle to implementation of the federal scheme. African suspicion of closer association in Central Africa was evident prior to the Second World War but became a factor of the first magnitude after the war. Africans in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland were especially fearful of any federal scheme which included Southern Rhodesia (see the debate on the inquiry into conditions for Africans in Southern Rhodesia in *Northern Rhodesia. African Representative Council. Proceedings of the First Session of the Council*, No. 1 [November, 1946].) The African National Congresses, with separate organizations in the three territories, were the most vocal and effective African groups in opposition

to federation and they worked in close liaison with United Kingdom anti-federation organizations. The Southern Rhodesia African National Congress was particularly weak and published little during the federation controversy. However, the Congresses of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland engaged in extensive publication programmes. The most significant publications of the Northern Rhodesia Congress are *The President's Statement at Mapoloto African Township* (1952), mimeo.; *Presidential Address. Chiefs' and Delegates' Conference* (1952), mimeo.; *Proposed Constitution for a Self-Governing State of Northern Rhodesia as Adopted by Chiefs in Conference* (1952), mimeo.; *The President's Statement on the Effects of the National Days of Prayer* (1953), mimeo.; *The President's Statement on the White Paper of January, 1953* (1953), mimeo.; *Nationalism and Parliamentary Democracy* (1953), mimeo. *Congress News* was the official organ of the Northern Rhodesia Congress and was inaugurated in 1953. Only two issues were printed before it was discontinued. The *News* was superseded by the *Congress Circular*, which was published at the Congress headquarters in Lusaka.

The principal Nyasaland Congress publications during the federation controversy are *Memorandum of the Nyasaland Congress (Salisbury Branch) on the Federation of Nyasaland and the Rhodesias* (1951) and *Copy of Resolutions Passed by the Nyasaland African Congress* (1953), mimeo. The Northern Rhodesian and Nyasaland Congresses continued to call for the abandonment of federation after the establishment of the new Federal State in October, 1953. Post-federation Northern Rhodesia Congress views are presented in *The Political Parties in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland* (1954), mimeo. and *Statement and Message to the People of the Protectorate by the President-General* (1955), mimeo. The *Congress News* should also be consulted. Important post-federation Nyasaland Congress publications are *Congress Views on the Extraction of Nyasaland from the Federal Scheme and the Representation of Nyasaland Africans in the Federal Assembly* (1955), mimeo. and *Deliberations of the Eleventh Annual Conference of the Nyasaland African Congress* (1955), mimeo. The Nyasaland Congress published a monthly newspaper *KWACA* at its Blantyre headquarters from January, 1955 to April, 1956. This is an especially fruitful source of information relating to Congress views and activities.

Political Parties

The federation movement and controversy gave rise to a number of political parties. The Democratic Party emerged from the Association of Afrikaners in Southern Rhodesia in 1951. Party policy is presented in *Democratic Party Leaders' Statement to the Press and Public* (1951), mimeo. The party was dissolved in 1953. However, party leaders joined the Confederate Party organized that same year. The full programme of the Confederate Party is described in *Confederate Party Constitution adopted by the Inaugural Congress* (1953), mimeo.; *Confederate Party Statement of Principles* (1953); *Details Given of Confederate Native Policy* (1953), mimeo. The Progressive Party was

organized in 1953 and its principles are to be found in the *Rhodesia Herald*, July 28, August 19, September 2 and October 16, 1953. In Central Africa's first Federal election, held in December, 1953, the Confederate and Progressive parties were opposed by the newly-formed Federal Party (now the United Federal Party), the present Government party in the Federation. The Federal Party programme is set forth in *Federal Party Constitution Adopted by Congress* (1953), mimeo.; *Federal Party Policy* (1953); M. I. Hirsch, *The Roads Offered* (1956). In the interim since the 1953 Federal general election a number of new parties have arisen. The Commonwealth Party was organized in 1955. The broad outlines of party doctrine are presented in G. F. M. van Eeden's *The Road to Sanity* (1955) and in the *Rhodesia Herald*, January 10 and February 15, 1956. The Dominion Party, founded in 1956, presents its views in the *Rhodesia Herald*, February 20, March 28 and 29, 1956 and the *Sunday Mail* (Salisbury), February 19, 1956. The platform of the Economic Party, formed in 1956, is found in the *Rhodesia Herald*, March 2, 1956.

Contemporary Central African politics is the subject of several recent studies: Eugene P. Dvorin, 'Central Africa's First Federal Election: Background and Issues', *Western Political Quarterly* (September, 1954); Kenneth Kirkwood, 'British Central Africa: Politics Under Federation', *Annals* (of the American Academy of Political and Social Science) (March, 1955); C. G. Rosburg, 'The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland: Problems of Democratic Government', *Annals* (July, 1956). A detailed study of the federation movement from 1950–1953 and the rise of political parties on the Federal level of government can be found in Eugene P. Dvorin's *The Central African Federation. A Political Analysis*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1955. An outstanding series of seven articles by a perceptive Central African observer, David M. Cole, providing a valuable background to the political scene, appeared in the *Bulawayo Chronicle*, June 23–26 and 29–30 and July 1, 1954. A competent and useful series tracing the evolution of Southern Rhodesia's principal political parties to 1950 is 'Seventeen Years. The Story of a Great Premiership', by 'Historicus' (pseud.), in *Candid Opinion* (Salisbury), July, August, September, October, November, December, 1950, January, 1951.

BOOK REVIEWS

WEST INDIAN IMMIGRATION

By G. C. L. BERTRAM

London, The Eugenics Society, Broadsheet No. One, 1958. 24pp. 1s. 6d.

'Eugenics' is a scientific-sounding word. A pamphlet put out by the Eugenics Society on a contentious subject may carry great weight among people who are not in a position to question the scientific accuracy of the argument it uses. I think that Dr. Bertram's Broadsheet is badly argued and likely to mislead.

Let me begin where Dr. Bertram ends: with the conclusion that 'four things are expedient at once here in the United Kingdom'. These things are: (1) 'the promotion of research upon the degree and results of race mixing so far'; (2) 'a deliberate and extensive effort so as to educate people that there shall be a proper appreciation of the qualities of the human group which is exotic, coupled with the recognition that breeding with that which is different is more likely to lead to trouble than to happiness'; (3) 'real consideration to be given to the advisability of imposing upon all immigrants of whatever origin or type, certain tests of quality so as to limit the arrival of those with attributes below the general average for the United Kingdom'; (4) 'very careful consideration to be given to the question as to whether an annual quota should now be imposed upon West Indians, and indeed upon others, wishing to enter the United Kingdom, and this in spite of the disadvantages such a measure would entail'. The character of these conclusions will be more clearly indicated if I quote from the footnote to the word 'quality' in point (3): 'This is of course but one more example of the main objective of the Eugenics Society, which is the appreciation of the importance of genetic factors.'

We are being invited to join the Eugenics Society in its effort to ensure the welfare of the country in so far as this welfare depends on genetic factors. What, then, do we know about the way in which such factors affect the standing of West Indians in Britain? Glancing hurriedly at Dr. Bertram's pamphlet one might suppose that the answer to this question (and the correct answer in my opinion) is 'nothing', because in places he points out that there is a lack of knowledge on the subject and that grave difficulties stand in the way of disentangling genetic from other factors. But the caution displayed here and there does not seem to be that of the scientist weighing up evidence; Dr. Bertram appears in fact to have made up his mind that there are genetic differences between West Indians ('chiefly Africans at second remove') and the white inhabitants of the United Kingdom which have a very strong bearing on the desirability of their continued immigration.

And what are these differences? The West Indians are racially distant from us; they are black and we are white; 'the untutored child's basic discrimination by skin colour is apt'; some sort of natural gulf divides us. The differences between races are anatomical and physiological. But what precisely these differences are is not stated, except that black skin differs in colour from white skin (which we can accept without reserve) and that there are differences in blood such that members of unlike races can sometimes be identified 'from a single drop' (which, not to put too fine a point on it, is a curious way of speaking to a lay audience about blood groups and their statistical characters). Moreover, Dr. Bertram inclines to the view that racial differences are also psychological. Of course, there is no scientific evidence to say so, but we may assume them—indeed, it would be an excellent thing if, despite all the methodological difficulties involved, we attempted to find out the differences in genetically determined intelligence between children of mixed marriages and ordinary white children. (In reality, the problem is not that such an attempt would be difficult; it would be impossible.)

Behind the argument lie eugenist assumptions. Individuals (and by a poetic but not logical extension, races) differ in their status and performance in society according to their native qualities. West Indians tend to mate with white women of 'inferior social and biological standing'. (No evidence is offered. What could the evidence possibly be?) The barriers erected by nature between races are the product of an evolutionary process in which people resist the idea of having children by members of other groups. 'The distaste, it is said, which is felt by the Chinese of quality for the idea of breeding with a white woman is only partly matched by the distaste which affects many of unpigmented skin at the idea of a white girl breeding with a person whose epidermis contains black granules.' And 'it is to be remembered that anthropologists stress the widespread nature of primitive marriage restrictions, resistances and rules, even when the group demarcations are not in the least social as far as can be seen'. But in fact if anthropologists lay stress on marriage rules it is to show that marriage is social relationship *par excellence*; that prohibitions on marrying close relatives force people into wide systems of social relationships; and that prohibitions on marrying people who are socially distant seal off groups, classes and societies in specifically social terms. It is no good looking to the anthropologists to find a justification for a white woman not wanting to enter the marriage bed with a Negro simply on the grounds that his 'epidermis contains black granules'. Marriage rules define the relations between groups; these groups may in some societies be 'racial', but the marriage rules do not presuppose racial differences.

What it comes down to is this. By twisting and turning through a maze of ill-grounded ideas and logical contortions, Dr. Bertram has persuaded himself that the West Indians are a threat to the genetic individuality of the white inhabitants of this country. Racial mixture

is a bad thing. Even when it appears to proceed harmoniously, in reality it does no good. We are not able to support the genetic chaos brought about by increased communication between the peoples of the world. And even if we cannot yet prove conclusively that racial mixture is bad, we should remember that once done it cannot be undone.

I myself should argue that our moral and political problems in regard to coloured immigrants are difficult enough to analyse and solve without the distracting irrelevancies of Dr. Bertram's opuscule.

MAURICE FREEDMAN

RACE, PREJUDICE AND EDUCATION

By CYRIL BIBBY

London, Heinemann, 1959. 86pp. 7s. 6d.

A leading article in one of our newspapers at the time of the racial disturbances last year contained the statements that 'teachers have been combatting racial prejudice for a long time' and that 'there is little more that education can do about it all'. Dr. Cyril Bibby's book will perform an important service, first by challenging this general air of complacency or defeatism which is characteristic of so much educational thought today, and secondly by showing how much more can be done than is generally realized in the course of ordinary school teaching to broaden the outlook of the average pupil, stimulate his interest in the diverse groups of which the human family is composed, and so generate 'an all-embracing charity of spirit'.

For the special merit of this book is that it is realistic in approach and entirely free from anything in the nature of crankiness or indoctrination. Its author has an intimate knowledge of schools and teachers and he does not ask them to perform the impossible. He realizes that with the best teaching in the world it may not be possible to get rid of all biases and that even the commonly-held supposition 'that young children are always free from racial prejudice, . . . this attractive picture of childhood, scarcely corresponds with the facts'. What he does do is to provide teachers who regard the promotion of human understanding and the eradication of irrational fears and prejudices as part of their job with a text-book which sets out with admirable clarity the basic biological facts and fallacies about 'race', shows how the misconceptions and false generalizations relating to different ethnic groups have come about, and suggests various ways in which the ordinary teaching subjects such as history, geography, literature, even mathematics, may be utilized for the purpose of instilling fair and accurate judgements about other human beings in the minds of the young. Especially valuable in this connexion are the chapters on the emotive power of words and the relations between the school and society.

A final word must be said about the contribution this book might make to the solution of one of the most important educational problems that faces us today. To what extent should social or sociological teaching be given a special place in the school curriculum? Could it be based on 'neighbourhood study' courses with the corresponding activity methods, especially in the case of the less academically-minded pupils? The objection has always been that the teachers themselves are not sufficiently qualified in the techniques for carrying out this kind of training. Dr. Bibby's book should help to overcome this obstacle by providing the material on which practical school programmes could be based. In this way a much-needed stimulus will be given to those teachers who believe in the value of social studies as a means of preparing their pupils to treat other human beings as individuals on their merits and so banishing from their minds those subjective, ungenerous, irrational judgements which have so often caused unspeakable suffering to unpopular or minority groups.

A. I. POLACK

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Vol. 165, No. 986, London, April, 1959. 131pp. 3s.

1.

The April issue of *The Twentieth Century* is a 'special number about Africa'. Perhaps inevitably, it fails to avoid the weakness arising from the attempt to cover, in a small compass, so many aspects of life in relation to so many diverse locations. Most of the writers are no doubt aware that the denizens of one part of Africa may differ as much from those of another as an Aberdonian differs from an Athenian, and the problems affecting them may differ to as great an extent; but the tendency keeps peeping through to generalize too readily about 'Africa' and 'Africans'.

The preface, whimsically headed 'Angry Rhinoceros?', makes clear that the intention has been to get contributors to give 'personal impressions—often very personal'. Everything therefore turns upon the selection of the persons. This was presumably entrusted to Mr. Anthony Sampson, who is introduced as the guest editor. The test as to whether they are a reasonably fair and balanced assortment can best be applied by looking at the treatment of what—both by the evidence of the preface and by the space and prominence accorded to it—is regarded as the most controversial topic, viz. the situation in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

If that is the test, the verdict must be adverse. The main contribution, which sets the key-note, on that subject is by Mrs. Doris Lessing. It is one of those unbalanced tirades with which one has become only too familiar from certain quarters—viewing through jaundiced eyes all white people who have made their home in the Federation, putting

the worst construction on all their doings, picking out and spotlighting anything that can be made to seem adverse, and inventing if necessary. So we are told that it 'is not allowed that white people should beat their employees', but 'they do, of course'. So a reference to the detention of Congress leaders in Southern Rhodesia leads Mrs. Lessing to state automatically, but without evidence, that they were 'beaten up'. So she can write 'Welensky said that the Southern Rhodesian Congress leaders he arrested had criminal records', when even she ought to know that neither he nor any other Federal authority had anything to do with those arrests. One knows that this unscrupulous, or perhaps pathological, mud-slinging goes on; but need *The Twentieth Century* provide an arena for it?

In the 22 pages from the pens of all those chosen to write about the Federation I can find no recognition of all that has been achieved in the last few years—the great strides made, for the benefit of Africans, in education, health, housing, the growing extensions of the franchise, and so forth. One article is by an able African free-lance journalist in Southern Rhodesia. (The innocent reader may wonder that there can be such a man.) He does refer to the new University College; not, however, to acknowledge the magnificent start it has made, but to attribute—quite erroneously—a mercenary and calculating motive to those (mainly white Rhodesians) whose initiative led to its establishment and who decided that it must be open to all races.

Topics treated in other articles include: the search for 'an African personality'; a young Nigerian's reflections on independence; a vivid and racy survey of the missionary's function; a wide-ranging economic review; and a discursive piece about 'African writing', of which one-third of the space is taken up by the text of a rather long-drawn-out and politically slanted fable whose principal merit is that it is by Jomo Kenyatta.

G. H. Baxter

2.

The most interesting thing about this much-to-be-welcomed special number of *The Twentieth Century* is that it should have happened at all. Only yesterday, after all, interest in Africa was limited among us to a narrow band of militant Christians, an even narrower band of company directors, a handful of the politically earnest, and an almost invisibly small segment of the wage-earning intelligentsia. Great declarations of intent might thunder across the *bundu*. Their echo was lost in the tropical air. Great masses of people might lose their land, their liberty, and their individual chance of self-respect. Their complaints seldom made news in Britain. All that is changed: and here is *The Twentieth Century* to prove it.

The next most interesting thing about this special number is the choice of writers. On the whole, it is a very sensible choice. Curmudgeonly critics like the present writer might have wished for a

treatment of African reality somewhat less urbane and quietly reassuring—a treatment, especially of 'settler Africa', somewhat nearer to the tough satire of Roy Campbell when he was young. But one cannot have everything; and one is grateful for Doris Lessing and William Plomer.

Personally I liked Mr. Mphahlele's article very much. He gives us an important part of the truth about Africa today; but a part that is seldom surrendered—by those who possess it—either because they do not believe in the existence of an audience in Europe that will listen to Africans, or because they lack the means of telling what they know. Mr. Mphahlele has this means in good measure—and *The Twentieth Century* (more power to it) has convinced him of the audience.

Perhaps this is the best thing about 'The New Africa'. Part of it, at any rate, is addressed by Africans to Europeans. How seldom have Europeans (whether in Africa or not) wanted to listen to Africans!

One of those who might well do some listening, before going on with his explanations of Africa, is Mr. Worsthorne. 'It seems to me', he says, 'that African nationalism's terrifying disregard for what actually gives meaning to most African lives, may create a Continent which, in sacrificing the past to the future, succeeds only in poisoning the present.' Now whatever is this supposed to mean? It is the hope of equality and self-respect that gives meaning to African lives today: and it is precisely *this* hope that African nationalism, however fallibly, has fed in the recent past and continues to feed today. It is the denial of equality and self-respect that poisons the African present—and it is precisely against this denial that nationalism, however stumblingly, sets itself. Mr. Worsthorne may regret the dear old tribal order. So do many Africans. But the dear old tribal order is as dead as the Dodo; and the latest piece of evidence to that effect is this special number of *The Twentieth Century*.

BASIL DAVIDSON

EVERYMAN'S AFRICA

By JOHN HATCH

London, Dennis Dobson, 1959. 263pp. 21s.

Mr. Hatch tells us that he wrote this to meet the need of a text-book for his extra-mural teaching. Having lectured to similar audiences, I can affirm how valuable the idea was. Unfortunately this volume meets the need only at one level. It provides a mass of facts: a particularly valuable appendix summarizing those on population, products and constitutions, with, in the text, a summary, often most useful, of events in the past decade. Presumably the breath of life is then to be supplied by the lecturer, for the facts are presented in a somewhat unimaginative fashion.

Only in a final chapter of analysis are we given some idea of what makes the political situation in Africa so lively. Yet here, as elsewhere, there are curious omissions. Thus, there is no proper discussion of Egypt's influence. Whilst this may have been over-rated by some observers in respect of 'black Africa', it is not sufficient to pass it off in the sentence 'Egypt has perhaps the most dynamic influence on Africa after that of Ghana' (p. 205).

The fact that Egypt receives only a bare paragraph indicates a main weakness of this book. It should be called 'Everyman's British Africa'. Mr. Hatch makes little pretence to cover the independent states, whilst on French Africa he has been overtaken by most recent developments. Here, as in some other places, he has attempted to fit in a few paragraphs but his earlier forecasts have sometimes been left in the text; these and the subsequent events do not always fit together.

Such defects are unfortunate since on British Africa Mr. Hatch can often be a useful factual guide to provide just that basic information that an audience needs. He is particularly good on Rhodesia and Nyasaland, where he refuses to fall into the common idealist left-wing error of believing that the British Government has a free hand to act. However, it is here that he betrays his own bias: only partnership between individuals is acceptable, not between communities.

This is a disappointing book. Mr. Hatch has done better in the past. We must hope that his lecturing still retains that liveliness of presentation that his pen used to have.

GEORGE BENNETT

AN ATLAS OF AFRICAN HISTORY

J. D. FAGE

London, Edward Arnold, 1958. 64pp. Bibliog. Index. 30s.

African cartography has developed out of all recognition since 1733 when Jonathan Swift wrote:

> 'So geographers, in Afric maps,
> With savage pictures fill their gaps,
> And, o'er inhabitable downs,
> Place elephants for want of towns.'

This atlas is an attempt to show in map form the history of Africa not as an inconvenient land mass which effectively blocked the direct sea route between Western Europe and the East for so many centuries, but rather as a continent which is worthy of study in its own right. Much of the mediaeval history of Africa is still obscure and uncertain but Dr. Fage bravely begins with the invasion of the northern shores by the Arabs and the penetration into Africa by Islam. He goes on to depict the fluctuating fortunes of the Sudanese states and the southward migrations of the Bantu, a story that is as much worth the telling as the *Völkerwanderungen* across Europe centuries before.

Much of the atlas is concerned with the better documented exploration and settlement of African lands by Europeans. The maps of modern economic development are particularly painstaking and good. The latest map shows the pattern of alien rule in 1957 and so rapidly does the face of Africa alter in the mid-twentieth century that this map is already a tool of historical geography.

The study of African place names is always hard. The difficulties of transliteration from one language into another, the records of explorers and settlers unskilled in philology have for long bedevilled the student of African history. Dr. Fage, however, is careful to give alternative spellings in the index and these are invaluable.

The standard of cartography is good but there is over much detail in some of the later maps. It would have been easier for the user of the atlas if some of it could have been printed on transparent traces, a method used successfully in modern German historical atlases. But this is a carping criticism. The *Atlas of African History* is a much needed reference book for anyone who seeks fuller understanding of the background of contemporary Africa.

DONALD WOOD

MANDINGO

By KYLE ONSTOTT

London, Longmans, 1959. 423pp. 18s.

Way down in Alabama, Old Master sits by the fire, stirring his toddy and letting the rheumatiz dreen out of his feet into the belly of a naked slave. He maintains that the land is played out for cotton and Falconhurst is a nigger farm. Young Master, being more of a gentleman than his father, still tries to grow cotton but breeding slaves is his main business; he never sleeps without a bed-wench, acts as a stallion to the more likely wenches among the field hands (which he regards as rather a chore), and takes down a coffle of young bucks to sell in New Orleans every year. (*Coffle* is a word I ought to have known; it must be the Arabic *Kafila*, a caravan.) Young Master feels he must marry to get a white son but is reluctant because he does not know how to act with a white lady; his wife, Blanche, disappoints him—he cannot in fact enjoy even a bed-wench unless he owns her. In revenge for his neglect, Blanche whips his favourite bed-wench to make her miscarry; not content with this, she sends for the big Mandingo buck and bears a black child. Young Master poisons her and kills the Mandingo messily.

This is not 'a great novel', as the blurb suggests; the characters and the situations are all from stock. It is a theme of historical sociology turned into fictional form; if anyone has any doubts about the deep degradation involved in slavery for both parties, this will remove them. The system was perhaps at its worst in the 'fifties, when cotton was down

and slaves were up. It will be a good publishing venture and will be widely read with fascinated horror; the horror is almost unrelieved except that at Falconhurst they believed in treating the slaves well to get good prices and did not use the snake whip which would leave marks and reduce value. And perhaps one should add that the cook was called Lucretia Borgia. Put this beside *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and you have an excellent illustration of Mr Deighton's thesis of the subjectivity of history.

PHILIP MASON

SEGREGATION. THE INNER CONFLICT IN THE SOUTH
By ROBERT PENN WARREN

London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1957. 88pp. 9s. 6d.

A Kentucky-born novelist and poet, retaining the slow thick drawl of a Southerner, Mr. Warren was sent back to the South by *Life* to find out what white and coloured people were saying about race. The direct quotations which fill up a large portion of this little book have an absolutely authentic ring. Anyone who has followed the same trail will recognize them and admire the skilful way in which they are juxtaposed to bring out the nuances and the contrasts. Mr. Warren's own comments are disappointingly banal and scarcely worthy of the first-hand material he has recorded.

Throughout the American South the subject of race is a conversational obsession, with no parallel in the rest of the United States since McCarthy. The white man-in-the-street, considering himself entitled to a settled, ordinary life, regards it as an outrageously unfair fate that has chosen his soul as the battleground for a moral struggle of titanic proportions. He either feels unequal to it and as often as not splutters viciously in his impotence, or adopts a David-like stance to face the Goliath of the rest of American and world opinion. Towards the Negro he may have a guilty conscience—not because he has excluded him from the white man's school but because until the deathbed repentance of the last few years the old promise of 'separate but equal' facilities was never honoured. But towards the Northerner he expresses the contempt of a proud people and a distinct, and he thinks superior, culture, more than a little frayed at the edges, for a hard, brash, materialistic, racially cross-bred, go-getting, do-downing neighbour. Whatever Europeans say in their least charitable moments about Americans in general, Southerners have traditionally felt about Yankees. It seems very hard to a Southern white to take a finger of scorn from these crude fellows and an intolerable injury that it should be invested by the nine justices of the Supreme Court, citing not law books but works of sociology, with the majesty of the law.

'I hate to think about it, it's too deep for me', was the reaction Mr. Warren got from an educated, well-travelled farmer, of the type to whom one would normally turn for moral leadership in a small community. 'I feel it's all happening inside of me, every bit of it', he was told by a girl in Mississippi, and a small business man remarked: 'You might say, it's the psychology of it you can't stand—getting all split up.' As for the Negroes, what really hurts is that all are lumped together in the white man's mind as unskilled labour with insanitary habits. Having no other home country but America they are bombarded from press, television and radio with clichés about the American way of forging ahead to better themselves in a classless society. Then they find it is not for them. It is hard for Negro children, hearing an invitation put out on a radio commercial by a large department store for all children under a certain age to compete in a soapbox derby—and going along to find out that 'all children' does not mean those with their sort of face.

Much of what was said to Mr. Warren and other visitors about Negro backwardness is unquestionably true of present-day conditions of perhaps a majority of Southern Negroes. Mass, as opposed to token, integration of schools would dilute educational standards, which are pretty low in many Southern states as it is. What is a race situation in America is very like what used to be a class situation in Britain. The chairman of the White Citizens' Council in Clarksdale, Mississippi, an educated, articulate banker, who does not appear among Mr. Warren's rich cast of characters, once delivered to me a ten-minute, probably very realistic, harangue about the living conditions and vices of the local Negro farm labour. A change of two or three words and it could have lifted textually from any of a hundred nineteenth century pamphlets about the 'condition-of-England question'.

The most hopeful remark in this book comes from a school superintendent in Kentucky, about to face the practical problems of desegregation, who said: 'A man can hate an idea but know it's right, and it takes a lot of thinking and praying to bring yourself around. You just have to uncover the unrecognized sympathy in the white man for the Negro humiliation.' And the most pathetic is from a woman in Mississippi who derived a grain of comfort from the thought that a film being shot locally was 'the only movie ever made here that didn't criticize Mississippi'. The film was Tennessee William's *Baby Doll.*

KEITH KYLE

BOOKS RECEIVED

(Books listed here may be reviewed later)

Family and Colour in Jamaica. By F. M. Henriques. London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1953. 18s.

Tribes Without Rulers. By J. Middleton and D. Tait. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1958. 28s.

The Big Boxcar. By Alfred Maund. London, Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1959. 13s. 6d.

From Ape to Angel. By H. R. Hayes. London, Methuen, 1959. 36s.

English-Speaking Mission in the Congo Independent State. By Ruth Slade. Brussels, Royal Academy of Colonial Sciences, 1959.

Continuity and Change in African Cultures. Edited by W. R. Bascome and Melville J. Herskovits. London, Cambridge University Press, 1959. 52s. 6d.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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COLOURED PEOPLE IN POST-WAR ENGLISH LITERATURE

HAROLD POLLINS

When Mrs. Beste-Chetwynde, in Evelyn Waugh's *Decline and Fall*, arrived at Llanabba Castle for sports day at Dr. Fagan's school, she had Chokey with her in the car. The headmaster 'pressed her glove, and for the moment was at a loss for words of welcome, for Chokey, though graceful of bearing and irreproachably dressed, was a Negro'. Alan Sillitoe's *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning* (1958), published thirty years after *Decline and Fall*, contains a sketch of a working-class home where the lodger is an Indian who sleeps with the widowed mother. The attitude—in keeping with the tone of the book—is neutral; the sexual relationship between a white woman and a coloured man is virtually ignored by the characters. In Evelyn Waugh's satire on life in the 1920s, on the other hand, the shock of miscegenation is explicitly recognized.

A facile comparison of two such disparate authors, in works of two such different periods, may be misleading, and, in many senses, ludicrous. But the juxtaposition of the attitudes expressed implicitly or explicitly in these novels does give an indication of the changing state of race relations in Britain. When Evelyn Waugh's novel was published, a few thousand coloured people lived in the dock areas of a handful of towns. Their status was low—they were likely to be treated as aliens despite the fact that they came from countries within the Empire[1]—and they seldom came into contact with the general public. Sillitoe is writing during the period when the coloured population of Britain has risen rapidly to perhaps a quarter of a million. Although they still tend to live in certain definable areas in towns (but in no sense in 'Harlems'), they are more widely dispersed than ever before throughout the country, in inland towns as well as in dock areas. And they are conspicuously in the sight and consciousness of the bulk of the population.

Furthermore, the post-war years have witnessed the growing stature of 'coloured' countries—their attainment of political independence, for example—and the increasing concern with the 'colour question'. These political and economic matters have their counterpart in works of fiction. Thus, in the *Observer* play competition of 1957 a 'large group of authors tackled the colour problem, not only in an African context but as it affects African and West Indian immigrants in Britain'.[2] (The winner of the competition was a West Indian writing on a West Indian theme.) A generation ago, it is reasonable to suggest, the socially-conscious entrants to such a competition would have dealt with the problems of fascism, unemployment, and, possibly, anti-Semitism. In addition, a vast mass of fictional material by and about

coloured people has been published in Britain since the war, some of it about Commonwealth and colonial countries, some by coloured authors living in Britain.

This kind of literature could well be used to illustrate, in great detail, the history of attitudes English people have adopted towards coloured people in England and in colonial countries. Such a study would include works as various as *Othello* and *Robinson Crusoe*, and the writings of authors as different as Rudyard Kipling, E. M. Forster, and Ronald Firbank.

A study of that kind is, however, beyond the scope of this paper, for several reasons. First, the number of works of fiction published in Britain in which there are coloured people, or references to them, is undoubtedly very large, and a proper investigation would produce a long essay.[3] Second, it would be lengthened even more by the need to include something on English attitudes to immigrants and foreigners in general. Third, creative literature can be only a very limited guide to the state of public opinion. Writers, obviously, are not necessarily representative of society or of its members' attitudes.

My purpose is a more limited one; it is to discuss those post-war novels which deal, in some way, with the life coloured people have led in Britain since the war. The number of such works is not great, but they often usefully supplement the more formal and systematic sociological studies. In any case, many of the academic surveys are now out of date. There are few published studies on the very recent migrants, and the vast majority of coloured people living in Britain have immigrated during the 1950s. Yet the well-known work of Dr. Little and his students (M. P. Banton, S. F. Collins, and A. H. Richmond) deals mainly with those who would now be considered 'old-timers'—the dockside communities. (Richmond, it is true, studied the West Indian war-workers in Liverpool. But they are not part of the recent migration.)[4]

This is not the place to appraise these various works; but it is highly relevant to state that conditions have changed. For example, Dr. Little, in his pioneer work *Negroes in Britain* (p. 256), quotes a report of 1934 about a coloured girl who wanted to become a nurse but was turned away by 28 hospitals. This makes strange reading in 1960 when coloured girls are a familiar and indispensable complement of the staffs of British hospitals. Nor is the sexual and family life of coloured people in Britain dominated, as it used to be, by the shortage of coloured women and by the low status of coloured men. On the one hand, the proportion of women among West Indian migrants is increasing—in recent years about one-half of the adults; on the other, it no longer seems the case that white women who consort with or marry coloured men are necessarily of low social class, or possess some deviant characteristics, or become estranged from their families.

Moreover, race relations in Britain are not a simple matter of in-groups and out-groups. They are a subtle complex of attitudes and actions in which facile generalization is dangerous and rightly suspect.

Future academic studies and works of social reportage will presumably throw light on these and other matters. The information to be won from fictional works will assist that process by descriptions at once more lively and more specific than those found in the strait-jacket of theoretical systems.

Broadly, there are two groups of coloured people living in Britain, distinguished by their purpose in being in this country, with which is associated the length of their stay. In the first, and smaller, category, are the students who come to Britain for a definable object and for a limited period. The more permanent residents form the second category, composed of the older, dockside communities, and the new migrants of the 1950s. There is no absolute distinction between these two groups. Some students stay on after completing their studies; some 'ordinary' migrants return home, and many of them say they intend to stay for only a limited period. But in general terms the division is valid. The first group consists largely of middle-class intellectuals; the second is mainly composed of people who take working-class jobs. Although within these two categories there are people from many different territories—from Asia, Africa, and the West Indies—and of many different races and religions, they are represented, in fiction, by two sets of novels: those about African students, and those about West Indians.

Before the Second World War, 'coloured' students in Britain usually meant those from the Indian sub-continent, but since the war it is usually taken to mean African students. (Indeed, there are few references in post-war English literature to Indians or Pakistanis in England, whether students or workers.) The African students are a new group in Britain, and their life in this country has been associated with the political demand for the independence of their countries, a phenomenon which is featured in the novels about them. In many of the novels, however, the bulk of the action takes place in Africa itself, and the English episodes are only a small part of the story.

Probably the first post-war novel about African students in Britain was Mark Freshfield's *The Stormy Dawn* (1946). Most of the book is set in Africa and only in the last quarter does the action take place in England. In some respects the novel provided a stereotyped plot: the bright young African boy attends a mission school and eventually goes to London to study law. In England he spends too much time in student politics—demands for independence and self-government for his country—and fails his examinations. He reverts to witchcraft and finally commits suicide.

The climax to the English episodes is not always so drastic. The student may be unable to continue his studies, but he will then go home. This happens in Peter Abrahams's *A Wreath for Udomo* (1956), a story primarily of the struggle for independence in two African countries. The hero is Michael Udomo, who is first met as a post-graduate student

in London. He mixes with the coloured intellectuals of Hampstead, some of whom have white mistresses, usually middle-class and intellectual. Udomo's political activities lead to his grant being withdrawn, and he returns home to lead a bloodless revolution. He is finally killed because of his betrayal of a former friend of his London days.

In both of these novels there is little mention of race relations in Britain; in Abrahams's book prejudice is taken for granted and not described in detail. But in Dymphna Cusack's *The Sun in Exile* (1955) prejudice and discrimination are the main themes. The action starts on a ship travelling from Australia to Britain via the West Indies. The embarkation of several hundred West Indians causes a great deal of resentment and conflict among the passengers, although in the end they accept the presence of the coloured passengers, for the sake of expediency.

One of the passengers who embarks in the West Indies is a Nigerian student, on his way to England to continue the studies he started in America. He and an Australian girl passenger—an artist—fall in love; in London they decide to marry. At once they have difficulty in finding somewhere to live. At one stage they arrange to take rooms but the landlady turns them away when she finds the man is coloured: 'Our neighbours are that particular' (p. 225). Eventually they take a slum basement room in Battersea.

The husband is involved in a fight, and his wife is also attacked. Her arm is shattered and she can no longer continue her painting. The coloured men complain that the authorities don't do much about finding the attackers. 'If the wife of an Englishman or an Australian or a Canadian or a New Zealander had been attacked by thugs in the heart of the greatest city of the Empire they would have tracked them down if it took the rest of their lives to do it' (p. 262). That kind of statement was made in the summer of 1959 after the murder of a West Indian in North Kensington.

In this novel, as in the others, racial prejudice is a feature of personal relationships. But the fact of organized anti-coloured prejudice is mentioned when hecklers at a Hyde Park meeting are described as 'Mosley's thugs' (p. 254).

The underlying bitterness of Dymphna Cusack's novel is altogether absent from John St. John's satire *A Trick of the Sun* (1956). In this novel a West African student of accountancy finds that his (English) father was a peer, and he makes unsuccessful efforts to claim the title. At one period he lodges with a working-class family in East London; the father is a militant Socialist who disapproves of the House of Lords, whereas the Africans in the story are keen for the hero to win his case, as an element in the struggle for African dignity and independence. Further, one of the Africans in the novel decides he wants to study the quaint customs and traditions of the English.

This readable novel contains some useful clues about Africans in London. There are those who do not want to be corrupted by European values, and there are the usual stories of the English attitude towards

coloured people. (But there are plenty of friendly English people, too.)

Generally, the student is from West Africa, but in John Sykes's *The Newcomer* (1956) the hero is from East Africa. He comes with no particular preconceptions about English people, and at first objects to the anti-white sentiments of a West African friend. Through a series of incidents he gradually accepts the latter's views, although it is an American lodger in the house who, by his attitude to the student, is the main cause of friction.

These novels, however various in detail, share many features in common, some of which are of continuing relevance—the disposition of some English landladies towards the students, for example. But one of the features is now exhausted. African students in Britain are still active in organizations for independence and freedom in African countries; and they are active in the organizations which oppose racialism in England. But the struggle for independence in West Africa is now largely over. One indication of the change is seen in *A Wreath for Udomo*, which is essentially a discussion of the actual problems which follow the achievement of independence. Another is the lack of African student novels since 1956. Only one has been published, *Shall Brothers Be?* by Jo Mackintosh (1959), in which an English schoolteacher marries an African student in London and returns to Africa with him. The English episode is very brief and the major part of the story takes place in Africa.

It is a unique novel. The story is told from the point of view of a white woman who marries a Negro, and it continues beyond the stage of discussing the potential problems of mixed marriages; it describes the (unsuccessful) working out of such a marriage in Africa.

The students, in fact as well as in fiction, normally go home to Africa. A permanent coloured group in Britain is something new—if we exclude the temporary phenomenon of Negroes in Britain during the eighteenth century. But the small, old-established coloured communities have not been ignored in fiction. Dr. Little's survey of Cardiff, published in 1948, was followed by two novels which reflect the kind of life he described. The coloured men are seamen, and the situations have mild undertones of criminality and immorality.

David Mathews's *The Prince of Wales Feathers* (1953) takes place in Cardiff. (The city is not mentioned by name, but references to 'Leopard Bay'—Tiger Bay—and to 'Newharbour'—Newport—set the scene unequivocally.) One of the main characters is George Hearn, a West African seaman, who lives with a white woman by whom he has had two children. She spends most of her time drinking and thinking of a former lover. The same kind of situation is part of the theme of John Moore's *The White Sparrow* (1954). The hero is a young boy of mixed parentage; the father is a coloured seaman, and the mother was a waitress in Cardiff. As in Mathews's novel, the woman is morally 'loose'; her second child is not her husband's. The family lives in a

village in the Forest of Dean area—the author usually writes about village life—and the story is partly about the boy's love affair with the white girl next door. They want to get married but the girl's parents oppose the marriage and take her with them to London.

The immediate post-war period was also the setting for Mercedes Mackay's *Black Argosy* (1954), a story of two Africans who come to Britain. One is a law student, already married, who works hard and passes his examinations. The other is a stowaway who does no work in London, but lives on National Assistance and by the sale of 'reefer' cigarettes. His story is very similar to the kind of life described by Michael Banton in his study of coloured people in the Cable Street area of Stepney in East London (*The Coloured Quarter*, 1955). The climax of the novel is a murder by the stowaway of another coloured man. He is convicted and hanged.

This novel describes a period which has now passed. In the post-war years there were West African workers who came to Britain as stowaways, but that hardly happens now. And, in the new situation where the majority of coloured people in Britain are from the West Indies and live away from dock areas, it is—ironically enough—the older seaport coloured communities which are compared favourably with the new 'coloured areas' such as North Kensington.

What was probably the first novel to contain a major West Indian character was Vaughan Kathrens's *Hit and Run* (1951), an unimportant crime story belonging to the period of the three novels just discussed. But with George Lamming's *The Emigrants* (1954) and Samuel Selvon's *The Lonely Londoners* (1956) the pattern of fiction about modern West Indian life in Britain became firmly established. The growth of a local West Indian literature has coincided with the post-war migration to Britain, where, in fact, several West Indian writers have settled. (They would probably have been attracted to this country irrespective of the migration of 'ordinary' migrants.)[5]

The novels of West Indian life in Britain are essentially novels of migration. The characters may talk of going home; some may even return to their island of origin. But they are not transients of the student type. Their object in migrating is to find better economic opportunities than exist at home. But while the novels have similarities with any other novels of migration, in this instance the problems of adjustment to a new environment are complicated by two major factors: the shock received by the migrants on finding that, although British in legal status and by education, they are not easily accepted; and that there are colour bars.

The colour bar is a constant theme in the novels, but at the same time the writers have not hesitated to sketch the colour and class differences that West Indians are used to. Thus in A. G. Bennett's *Because They Know Not* (1959) the hero, a clerk, objects to mixing with the 'uncultured' ordinary migrants on the ship bringing them to England. 'It was a misfortune to be travelling with so many primitive fellow passengers' (p. 9). The difference between them is emphasized by

the ordinary migrants speaking in Jamaican dialect, whereas the hero's speech has little trace of it. In G. R. Fazakerley's *A Stranger Here* (1959) the hero is not only a non-manual worker, he is fair-skinned too. Presumably the statement of these differences among West Indians is made partly as a recognition of the fact of their existence—class and colour divisions in the West Indies have been described many times in the anthropological literature; partly it is a means of illustrating vividly the kind of treatment West Indians often receive in Britain. They have sometimes, for example, to take jobs with a low status. It is unlikely that the 'respectable', 'cultured' hero is a device intended to improve race relations, to illustrate the fact that not all migrants are unskilled labourers. On the contrary, the heroes are seldom virtuous, and those who write about West Indians in Britain have not yet, apparently, found it necessary to act as the protectors of their group. They are in no way inhibited in their descriptions of West Indians.

Nevertheless, the problems discussed in the novels centre on prejudice and discrimination. The hero arrives in England, often to be met by a friend who is already resident. Immediately the hero comes up against two major problems; housing and employment. The housing problem for the working-class migrant is more acute than for the student, although the latter, as several studies have shown, meets it very frequently. The hero in the novels finds he cannot get accommodation. The advertisements for rooms say 'No coloured'; or when he answers an advertisement he is not acceptable to the landlady. Even when he is welcomed, it may be for a sinister purpose. The narrator in one of the stories in Samuel Selvon's *Ways of Sunlight* (1957) explains why coloured people may be encouraged to take rooms in a house:

> Now, the latest rake when them English landlord and landlady want to sell house, is to get the tenants out, because the more empty room they have the more money they could ask for the place. And to get the tenants out, what some of them was doing was to let out rooms to spades, and when the white tenants see that they say: 'Gracious me! I can't stay in this house any longer!' and they hustle to get another room while the landlord laughing. Next thing, he give the spades notice, and by the time he ready to sell house bam! the whole house empty. (p. 168).

The second major problem of West Indians in Britain is employment. The hero has difficulty in getting work, particularly if he is looking for a non-manual job, and he has to become a labourer. In Fazakerley's novel the former clerical worker becomes a builders' labourer in Liverpool. By a series of accidents he becomes general foreman (a most unlikely event) and this leads to friction and difficulty. But employment, in this context, means more than the difficulty of overcoming colour bars in industry, and more than strikes by white men about the employment of coloured people. It includes too the whole question of relationships at work. Fazakerley's novel contains the most detailed descriptions of this kind of situation; indeed it reads rather like a text-book on race relations in Britain. It illustrates the

essential unpredictability of experience which faces a West Indian. He may find friendship or he may find enmity; often he cannot interpret English actions and silences.

Official attitudes, expressed, for example, by leaders of the main political parties, trade unions, and churches, are unequivocally opposed to prejudice and discrimination (as the reactions to the disturbances in North Kensington have shown). The situation is new, however, and very fluid. English people have to make adjustments as much as do coloured people, and the official views of English public opinion are by no means echoed in all parts of society. Furthermore, a coloured person whose knowledge of England is acquired from the actions of white people in his own country and based on an upper-middle-class image, has to undergo a rapid education in the realities of English working-class life. In addition, there is what many coloured people describe as an element of hypocrisy in English life. Many of the novels contain examples of the English person who is friendly to a coloured person, but when the latter moves away makes anti-coloured statements.

Among other features of these novels are the English girls who associate with West Indians. In Lamming's *The Emigrants* some coloured girls complain that coloured men are not interested in them, but prefer English girls. Another feature is the existence of a major character, an 'old-timer' who acts as chorus. Being used to life in Britain and having acquired an understanding of English ways, he tends to be sensitive to slights and insults, and to be cautious. He may deprecate the immigration of too many West Indians; and, as in Fazakerley's novel, he may try to sabotage a mixed marriage and the efforts of a migrant to improve his position at work. These actions, he says, will result only in more prejudice against coloured people.

But perhaps the most important theme is the coherence of the West Indian group, something often forced on the hero by prejudice and discrimination. Thus he has to live in a house with other West Indians because he cannot get accommodation elsewhere. Most of his leisure time is spent with West Indians because English people are not easy to get on with. He may dislike this—in Bennett's novel the West Indian landlord is described in terms applicable to a Victorian melodrama—but he has to accept it.

In contrast to the African student novels there is little about politics or Commonwealth affairs. The reasons for this are obvious. The 'ordinary' migrants in the West Indian novels are preoccupied with their own personal problems; prejudice in Britain is more immediate than the problems of African independence. And the struggle for independence in the West Indies has been won. The new West Indies Federation has to face problems of administration, economics, and inter-island rivalry but such matters are too distant from the 'ordinary' migrant to attract much of his attention.

These novels, about Africans and West Indians in Britain, all have

major characters who are coloured. But occasionally there are minor coloured characters. In D. A. Nicholas Jones's *Parade in Pairs* (1958), for example, the story is mainly about life in South London, but some West Indians come into the story. And there are other novels which do not easily fit into either of the two categories mentioned here. One is Joan Medhurst's *The Shadowed Mirror* (1959), a story about an African doctor who comes to England to try to find a white doctor to help him in his medical work in Africa. Another is *Sapphire*, by E. G. Cousins (1959), a novel based on an original story and screenplay by Janet Green. The film, which appeared in 1959, was the first on coloured people in Britain—both West Africans and West Indians. It is a detective story about the murder of a half-caste girl. The girl is sufficiently fair-skinned to 'pass' as white, thereby incurring the enmity of her former coloured friends, and also of the sister of the Englishman she is to marry. The white woman kills her. The story may be legitimately criticized for its too facile distinction between the two parts of the girl's life: the 'white' part is demure and wholesome, but the 'coloured' part is exotic, and associated with low drinking-clubs.

That aspect of coloured life in London is a major theme of what is probably the best-known novel on this whole subject, Colin MacInnes's *City of Spades* (1957). Although fiction, it is really a tour through certain kinds of public activity associated with coloured people in London. There are two narrators: Johnny MacDonald Fortune 'out of Lagos', who intends to be a student of meteorology; and Montgomery Pew, an Englishman, a politically-liberal snob, newly appointed as an 'Assistant Welfare Officer of the Colonial Department'.

Johnny Fortune soon gives up any pretence of being a student and mixes with the criminal and semi-criminal world of drug-peddlers, pimps, thieves, and others generally 'on the fiddle'. It is this world which the author has chosen to describe. The novel is racy, warm, and lively; it is never dull—nor could it be with characters named Mr. Ronson Lighter (who steals cigarette lighters), Mr. Johnny Cannibal, and Mr. Billy Whispers. These are all Africans.

But it is a book which does not deserve the praise it has received. The world it describes certainly exists—documentary proof is available in reports of court cases in national and local papers. It is, however, only a small part, if perhaps the most exotic, of the 'City of Spades.' Most coloured people in London, it is tedious but necessary to point out, are neither students nor Africans, and were not when the book was published. West Indians and American Negro soldiers appear in the book, it is true, but there is nothing about the ordinary migrants. As a novel of certain aspects of the life of some coloured people in London it is alive and interesting; as a guide to 'coloured London' it is only of marginal significance.

It may be wrong to complain that an author has not written what he has not wished to write—although the title carries implications of documentary generalization which are not realized. But a more

important criticism is that by concentrating on the more nefarious[6] aspects of life he has given authoritative credence to the stereotyped images of coloured people. Thus his characters deal in drugs; they live on the immoral earnings of white prostitutes; they do no work, but live on 'fiddles' or on the benefits of the Welfare State; the white girls who go with them are riff-raff. It would be absurd to say that these things should not be mentioned; it is merely that race relations are a delicate matter, and that statements in a highly-praised book may become accepted as authoritative and therefore as generally true.[7]

Most of the novels mentioned in this paper are worth no more than a passing mention. The dialogue and situations are often unrealistic; information may be false, as in *Sapphire* (p. 50), where there is a reference to a coloured boarding-school. There are no coloured boarding-schools in England. Nevertheless, despite their shortcomings, and despite the inherent difficulty of using fiction as material for a discussion of race relations in Britain, the novels, quite clearly, have some use for that purpose. At the very least they illustrate the kind of problems that accompany the formation of a coloured minority group in this country.

Furthermore, the approach of the writers is invariably liberal. Coloured people in the novels are treated as human beings, not as 'coons' or as inferiors. Prejudiced people get no support. Where authors have offended coloured people it is probably through inadvertence rather than malice.

The situation of coloured people in Britain is in no sense static. Attitudes change rapidly according to the interplay of numerous factors of varying importance and subtlety. It is quite clear that the Notting Hill disturbances of 1958, and subsequent events in that district, have had a cathartic effect on English public opinion. It is virtually unthinkable, for example, for any public person or responsible organization to make statements which could be interpreted as anti-coloured. So far the effect of 'North Kensington' has not had time to be assimilated into English fiction, but the disturbances themselves have been used in Colin MacInnes's *Absolute Beginners* (1959), a novel of teenagers in London, and in an unpublished radio feature 'My People and Your People'.[8]

Whatever proportion of the present migrants remains in Britain there will undoubtedly be a permanent coloured group here. Future novels, while continuing to portray the kind of problems which appear to be of lasting importance, will probably concentrate more on those who settle and on their children, and less on the 'migration' aspects. So far there has been no second-generation literature. When it appears we shall be able to see to what extent coloured people born in Britain —who have as yet no spokesman in literature—are in fact integrated into English society, and how much, if at all, the lands of their parents' birth have any meaning or attraction for them.

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[1] K. Little, *Negroes in Britain*, London, Kegan Paul, 1948, pp. 63–7.

[2] Kenneth Tynan, Preface to *The Observer Plays*, London, Faber, 1958.

[3] Thus the bibliography in Bhupal Singh's relevant study *A Survey of Anglo-Indian Fiction*, London, O.U.P., 1934, is 26 pages long.

[4] This is true too of Michael Banton's recent *White and Coloured*, London, Jonathan Cape, 1959, which summarizes and discusses those studies—although it includes some recent material on prejudice. So far the only published studies of West Indians in Britain are: C. Senior and D. Manley, *A Report on Jamaican Migration to Great Britain*, Kingston, Government Printers, 1955, and the Family Welfare Association's report, edited by S. K. Ruck, *The West Indian Comes to England*, London, Routledge, 1960. The latter is largely a report of social work among West Indians in London during the period 1955 to 1958.

[5] See, for example, two useful articles by G. R. Coulthard: 'The West Indian Novel of Immigration', *Phylon*, vol. XX, No. 1, 1959 (in which there is a discussion of Lamming and Selvon); and 'Rejection of European Culture as a Theme in Caribbean Literature', *Caribbean Quarterly*, vol. 5, No. 4,1959. On West Indian writers in England, see: Kingsley Amis, 'New Winds from the West', *Spectator*, 2 May, 1958; Francis Wyndham, 'The New West Indian Writers', *Harper's Bazaar*, June 1958; a report of an interview with Samuel Selvon in *Reynolds News*, 12 July, 1959.

[6] The description in a review of the novel in *The Times British Colonies Review*, Fourth Quarter, 1957, p. 29.

[7] It is a strange lapse in an author of undoubted liberal views. See his attack on anti-Semitism in *The Jewish Chronicle*, 22 January, 1960, p. 21.

[8] For a brief note on the latter see *Radio Times*, 17 July, 1959.

APPLIED SOCIAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC POLICY CONCERNING RACIAL RELATIONS IN BRITAIN*

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In his article 'Sociology and Race Relations', published in the first issue of this journal, Dr. Michael Banton suggested that the study of racial relations should be regarded as an applied social science in which the findings from pure social sciences, such as economics, psychology and sociology, are utilized towards the solution of practical problems of social policy. In this article an attempt will be made to formulate a set of policy recommendations for the improvement of racial relations in Britain which are based on the findings of the various researches that have been undertaken in the last two decades. Any discussion of applied social science in relation to public policy raises the fundamental question of value premises. It is generally agreed that social scientists should always endeavour to make *explicit* the values and assumptions that underly their policy conclusions. Therefore, these will be set out briefly before the practical conclusions are formulated.

The premises that have governed the theoretical conclusions and practical proposals put forward by the majority of social scientists studying racial relations in Britain are as follows: (1) There appears to be agreement that cultural and not genetic factors are responsible for differences between races in personality and behaviour, including differential levels of technological achievement.

(2) It is also agreed that racial miscegenation has no biologically harmful effects and where difficulties arise for parents or children of racial mixed marriages these, too, are social or psychological in origin.

(3) No explanation of racial antipathy or conflict based upon the view that there is any inherent or instinctive aversion to social contact between races is accepted. As a consequence, a person who is unwilling to enter into social relationships with a member of another race, in circumstances in which he would normally accept a member of his own race,—i.e. where other social, economic and cultural differences are small—is regarded as exhibiting an irrational race prejudice.

(4) All people irrespective of race, colour, creed or nationality are believed to be entitled to the basic rights and freedoms set out in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights and to equal rights of citizenship with others of the same nationality. In particular, persons born in British colonial territories and Commonwealth territories formerly under British rule are entitled to the same rights of citizenship as persons born in the United Kingdom, including the right to migrate to and settle in Britain.

(5) These rights of citizenship include the right of access to education, social services, employment and the right to earn sufficient to maintain

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a family at a level of subsistence at least sufficient for health. Where this is not at present possible, social and economic policies should be designed to achieve this goal at the earliest practicable opportunity.

(6) There should be no barrier to the complete assimilation of coloured colonial and Commonwealth citizens in Britain and every effort should be made to eliminate prejudice and discrimination against them. At the same time members of racial or cultural minorities wishing to retain the use of their own language and to associate together for religious or recreational purposes should not be prevented from doing so.

Although there is agreement among most social scientists on these points they are not necessarily accepted by others. There are some politicians, newspaper writers, intellectuals and members of the general public whose underlying assumptions are incompatible with those outlined above. It is not surprising, therefore, that even if they accept the same factual evidence concerning racial relations in Britain, the policies they advocate may be fundamentally opposed to those set out below. In particular, the view that there are genetic differences in intelligence and temperament between members of different races and that miscegenation has harmful effects, leads to very different policy conclusions, as is shown in a recent publication of the Eugenics Society[1].

When the findings of sociological and psychological researches on racial relations in Britain are considered in the light of the premises set out above certain conclusions may be drawn which are relevant to the formulation of a programme of social action which could be the basis of a coherent and practicable public policy. These will be considered under the following headings:—

(i) Policies designed to influence public opinion and to promote more favourable inter-racial attitudes.
(ii) Policies designed to reduce overt discrimination and racial conflict.
(iii) Policies designed to promote the assimilation, adjustment and welfare of immigrants.

Attitudes and opinions.

Ever since R. T. La Pière undertook his comparative study of racial attitudes in Britain and France in the late 1920s it has been known that there existed in England a considerable amount of latent colour prejudice.[2] The lack of direct contact with coloured people due to their small numbers means that attitudes, although often unfavourable, have remained comparatively fluid and subject to modification. An unpublished national sample survey undertaken in 1951 revealed that at that time 16 per cent. of those interviewed disliked the idea of working with a coloured person, 27 per cent. disliked the idea of inviting a coloured person home and 41 per cent. disliked the idea of having a coloured person to stay in their home.

Although the question was not specifically asked on this occasion it is well known that many people in Britain, even among many whose

views are otherwise liberal, dislike the idea of inter-racial marriage. In this particular inquiry it was found that the old tended to be more prejudiced than the young, but that there were no significant correlations with education, social class or sex, although housewives tended to be prejudiced. A smaller-scale sample survey, conducted by Dr. M. P. Banton in 1955, revealed somewhat more favourable attitudes than the earlier inquiry[3]. Only 6 per cent. reported any strong objection to working with a coloured person and only about 10 per cent. endorsed statements expressing the view that coloured people will always be inferior to white and that all social contact between races should be avoided. More people appeared to question stereotyped ideas on the basis of their own experience or to say that they were not in a position to judge the truth or falsity of commonly held notions.

The position in Britain appears to be that there is a hard core of severely ethnocentric individuals in whom colour prejudice is a deeply embedded personality trait which no amount of contact or favourable propaganda is likely to influence. At the other extreme are many people for whom egalitarian attitudes and racial tolerance are also an integral part of their personality structure. Between these two extremes the majority of people in Britain have a feeling of reserve and mild antipathy to strangers which represents a conformity of cultural norm.[4]

In addition to the tendency to be suspicious of strangers, especially black ones, there is considerable ignorance in Britain concerning economic and social conditions in colonial territories.[5] There is also an inadequate understanding of the relation between race, in the strictly biological sense, and cultural differences between peoples. Although Banton found in his survey that only 10 per cent. of the population positively endorsed statements alleging the permanent inferiority of coloured peoples, few people are aware of present day scientific views on race. In particular, the idea that inter-racial mixture is biologically and socially harmful is widely held, despite the absence of scientific evidence to support this proposition.

It follows that one of the first steps towards improving racial relations in Britain should be *a systematic compaign of education for adults and children*, utilizing all the resources of modern mass communication including television. It should be designed to inform the public on these matters and to influence the attitudes and opinion of the majority of the population whose antipathy towards coloured people has not become a rigid disposition. While a certain amount has been done already by the British Broadcasting Corporation, and some enlightened newspapers and journals, the impact has been limited owing to the unsystematic and infrequent character of the articles and programmes. It is doubtful if anything short of a sustained educational campaign would be effective. Against such a proposal it is frequently asserted that, as the topic is one which can arouse strong feelings, it is best left alone for fear of arousing greater prejudice than would be manifest if the matter were not mentioned. This view does not sufficiently take into account the way in which the 'conspiracy of silence' on such

matters encourages the more severely prejudiced to be vocal. This may explain why many people in Britain appear to think that others are more prejudiced than they are themselves.

Among the mass media of communication, television offers the greatest possibilities and also the greatest dangers in any attempt to modify attitudes and values concerning national, ethnic and racial differences. In her study of the influence of television upon children in Britain, Dr. H. T. Himmelweit found that television had a significant influence upon children's ideas concerning out-groups[6]. The influence was more marked for children of 10 to 11 years than in the 13 to 14-year-old group. After one year's viewing children made more objective and fewer evaluative statements. The evidence also suggested that children were likely to hold stereotyped ideas about out-groups which reflected the roles in which they were most frequently represented on television. Dr. Himmelweit concludes that the children tested had experienced a broadening influence as a consequence of viewing television compared with the control groups, but points out that the children in question had seen B.B.C. television only. If children had had access to I.T.V. only (which shows foreigners more often in the role of the criminal) the influence might well have been in the opposite direction, namely that of increasing prejudice against specific 'out-groups'.[7]

In addition to mass education another feature of public policy should be the introduction into schools of the *teaching of race questions*. This objective is already part of the policy of UNESCO and a considerable quantity of literature on this subject, in a form suitable for teachers, has been published.[8] A UNESCO expert committee has also given consideration to the best methods of introducing this subject in schools.[9] A more systematic and up-to-date treatment of history and geography to include recent developments in Commonwealth and colonial territories and an informed approach by teachers to biological and social aspects of race differences are also necessary.

At the present time teachers themselves often do not possess the necessary information and crowded school curricula geared to examination syllabuses are a deterrent to the introduction of new subjects or new material within the framework of existing school subjects. An *ad hoc* committee that has been studying this question in Britain recently put forward proposals to the Ministry of Education.[10] Local education authorities in Britain being largely autonomous, it is impossible for the Ministry to issue 'directives'. It is difficult for the central government to make changes in educational policy at the school level, unless the schools themselves are ready and willing to take the initiative. However, the way in which, some two decades ago, the former Board of Education was able to arouse interest in the provision of formal sex education in schools provides an encouraging precedent for similar action in the case of teaching race questions.[11]

It would be wrong to regard education by itself as a panacea. Prejudice is not simply a result of ignorance. Better informed people are not necessarily less prejudiced.[12] The emotional component of

prejudice cannot be overlooked, even in the case of those whose antipathy is relatively mild and not deeply ingrained in the personality. Studies of the origins of prejudice and authoritarianism have shown that relationships in the home between parents and children and at school between teachers and pupils are highly influential in determining whether a child will grow up tolerant of others who are of different colour, class, creed or nationality[13]. The introduction of race questions into school curricula could have the opposite of the desired effect, if the atmosphere of the school is authoritarian, generating resentment and hostility.[14]. When the relation between teachers and pupils is one of mutual respect and co-operation, much can be achieved in the way of reducing prejudice. This is particularly true if a multi-racial situation can be achieved by *mixing pupils of different racial or cultural backgrounds, or arranging exchanges of teachers and pupils with other countries.*[15]

Valuable work done in schools can be rendered useless if the atmosphere of the home engenders insecurity and consequent prejudice. Studies of English national character have shown that parental attitudes towards discipline may generate anxiety, resulting in shyness towards strangers on whom are projected impulses in the self that have been repressed.[16] However, there is evidence that authoritarianism in the relations between parents and children in Britain is diminishing and that parents of the younger generation are less severe in the upbringing of their own children. At the same time young parents are often unsure of themselves in the handling of their children, with consequent inconsistency which could also generate insecurity.[17] There is, therefore, much to be said in favour of more *adult education with regard to elementary child psychology*, again using mass media where appropriate. In the long run this might make as valuable a contribution to the reduction of prejudice in Britain as any more direct social action.

Discrimination

Public policy directed towards the elimination of prejudice must necessarily be on a long-term basis. More immediate and effective action can sometimes be taken with regard to the elimination of discrimination. A failure to distinguish between prejudice, as an attitude of mind, and discrimination involving deprivation of fundamental rights is characteristic of politicians and others who argue that 'you cannot legislate against prejudice'. Certain kinds of discrimination, such as those arising in purely personal relationships and choice of friends, are clearly a direct manifestation of prejudice and must await the long-term ameliorative effects of the policies already outlined. Furthermore, it is necessary to distinguish between institutionalized (meaning here traditional behaviour enforced by customary sanctions) and non-institutionalized discrimination.[18]

Broadly speaking, people in Britain are prepared to tolerate coloured people and other strangers in their midst, so long as the latter do not impinge too closely upon intimate primary groups, especially in the

context of sex and family relationships. Discrimination is institutionalized and receives either open or tacit approval by the majority of people in regard to acceptance in closely knit work groups such as in mining, in intimate friendship groups, in recreational clubs at all social class levels, in lodgings with small families or households and, above all, in intermarriage. Discrimination in other spheres such as employment, housing, hotels, restaurants, dance halls, public bars and the like, is not institutionalized. When it takes place it is regarded as a deviant form of behaviour and may arouse considerable criticism, from those who regard such action as an interference with rights of citizenship. Usually such discrimination occurs because the person responsible feels that his economic interests would be threatened by the admission of a coloured person. In the case of landladies providing lodgings for students the factors promoting institutionalized and non-institutionalized discrimination reinforce each other. As a result two-thirds of students' landladies refuse to take non-white students and 90 per cent. refuse male students of very dark Negro features.[19]

The success of anti-discriminatory legislation in the United States has depended upon the establishment of elaborate machinery for the investigation of complaints and for putting social pressures upon employers and other offenders before resorting to litigation. The small size of the coloured population in Britain makes it doubtful whether adequate steps could be taken, without disproportionate expense and bureaucratic organization, to ensure proper investigation and enforcement if similar legislation were adopted. Nevertheless, a case can be made out for *a limited 'anti-colour bar' Act* which would establish indisputably the illegality of discriminatory clauses in leases of houses and flats. Legislation could also make it necessary for proprietors of all public hotels, restaurants, bars, dance halls and the like to prove to the satisfaction of a court that they had proper grounds, other than the applicant's race or religion, for refusing admission.

Legislation with regard to discrimination in employment would be more difficult to enforce unless the Ministry of Labour were able to do what they were empowered to do during the war under the Control of Engagements Order, viz. require an employer to employ any man whom the Ministry considered suitable for the vacancy.[20] It is doubtful whether any government could assume such sweeping powers in Britain other than in war-time emergency, particularly as the trades unions are equally opposed to any form of 'direction of labour,' in peacetime. An overall economic policy designed to maintain full employment is more likely to assist the eradication of discrimination in industry. At a time of full employment there is very little discrimination but with the first signs of recession coloured persons find that local white labour tends to be preferred.[21]

Overt discrimination and racial conflict are likely to be precipitated in periods of economic insecurity when coloured immigrants are perceived as competitors for employment and housing and as a threat to social status. In such circumstances an underlying tension builds up

and it takes only a small incident to bring about a state of overt conflict, which may easily degenerate into violence. This happened in various seaport towns in Britain in 1919, in Liverpool in 1948 and in London and Nottingham in 1958.[22]

The part played by economic insecurity in aggravating and precipitating racial conflict in Britain, as elsewhere, has been noted in the past.[23] It was undoubtedly of major significance in the case of the disturbances in 1958. The cumulative effects of the international economic recession, aggravated by the restrictive economic policy of the British Government and combined with structural changes in the textile industry, were responsible for a considerable increase in unemployment in Britain in the second half of the year. Unemployment arose from 1·5 per cent. to 2·8 per cent. by the third quarter of the year. Immigrants, including coloured colonials and Commonwealth workers, were among the first to be discharged. They were followed by juveniles, women and adult males in that order. Particularly striking is the sudden increase in unemployment among male juveniles (under 18 years) in those areas where the disturbances occurred during the immediately preceding weeks of August 1958. In London, unemployment among this group was more than doubled and in Nottingham it increased six times. The detailed statistics are set out below, and a comparison with the same period in the preceding year shows that the increased unemployment at this time was not a seasonal phenomenon, although it may have been aggravated by the inability of industry to absorb those leaving school in July 1958. The connexion between this increase in unemployment and the prominent part taken by juvenile gangs in the violence shown towards coloured immigrants is evident.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN AREAS OF RACIAL DISTURBANCE

NOTTINGHAM

	1957			1958		
	July	*Aug.*	*Sept.*	*July*	*Aug.*	*Sept.*
Males under 18 years	79	45	29	49	314	300
Males over 18 years	2398	1253	1284	2378	2323	4854
All men and women	3066	1621	1740	3222	3632	6501

LONDON

	1957			1958		
	July	*Aug.*	*Sept.*	*July*	*Aug.*	*Sept.*
Males under 18 years	282	365	396	399	910	826
Males over 18 years	13214	13761	14162	22616	21561	22391
All men and women	18475	19492	20173	31513	31035	31555

Source—Ministry of Labour.

It is clear that both discrimination in employment and outbreaks of racial conflict in the community are closely connected with the total economic situation and that as a consequence *the maintenance of full employment* should be a major item in any public policy designed to prevent deterioration of racial relations in Britain. Fortunately, although there are a few economists and politicians who are prepared to argue that the deliberate creation of unemployment may be desirable or necessary as an economic policy in certain circumstances, the majority today accept the view that full employment should be the aim of any government as a matter of course. Therefore, there need be no conflict between domestic economic policies as a whole and those which would commend themselves from the point of view of racial relations.

The difficulties which coloured people have in finding suitable housing are among the more serious problems with which they are faced. Although discrimination plays a part in creating the housing problem for coloured immigrants it is far more a consequence of the general housing shortage and the poor quality of much of the accommodation in the older parts of the cities. The partial social segregation of coloured communities in Britain results from the combined effects of discrimination, of preference on the part of the immigrants for accommodation with or near relatives, friends, compatriots or co-religionists, and the overall shortage of houses. The latter compels immigrants to occupy slum areas recently vacated by white families who have been rehoused by local authorities after long periods on waiting lists or have moved of their own accord to socially 'better-class' neighbourhoods. Although government and local authorities in Britain, together with private builders, have undertaken a tremendous programme of house building in the post-war period, the number of houses built has been too small in relation to the need. Strangely enough, the efforts by coloured people to solve their own housing problem have tended in some cases to increase the resentment against them. This is because the coloured immigrants have been prepared to adopt means that are not usual in white working-class areas. The means include (i) gross overcrowding of limited accommodation with several families living together on a communal basis; (ii) the purchase of houses by means of loans at high rates of interest, either for owner-occupation or letting at a profit (this has been a means of exploitation of coloured people by property owners and agents who sometimes sell houses with short leases under which the lessee is responsible for putting the property in order); (iii) the formation of housing associations which purchase property with the aid of loans at low rates of interest and obtain subsidies for converting them into flats to be let. Sometimes such housing associations have been formed with the object of letting to selected white tenants as well as coloured, in order to encourage racial integration in the community. Housing associations designed to relieve shortage of accommodation for coloured immigrants have been formed in several places, including Bath, Birmingham, Nottingham, Reading

and Sheffield. Such schemes, however, can only make a limited contribution to the solution of a problem which is not confined to coloured immigrants but to any person who moves from one town to another and thereby loses any priority he may have had on the waiting list of the local authority in his previous area. The housing shortage is a vast problem which can only be dealt with adequately at a national level. Undoubtedly, one of the obstacles to a rational housing policy in Britain is the fifty-year-old tradition that, by rent control or subsidization, rents should be well below economic level and represent only a small fraction of total family income and expenditure. Indirectly a valuable contribution to improving racial relations in Britain would be a *rational housing policy* for the population as a whole, designed to increase the number of houses available, to improve the quality and amenities of existing houses and to bring rents paid into line with current economic conditions.

Welfare of immigrants

The elaborate system of statutory and voluntary social services available in Britain are highly favourable to the welfare of immigrants. The state guarantees that no one in Britain need sleep out of doors, or be without the minimum means of subsistence or any medical treatment that may be required. These benefits are provided without any qualification as to race, nationality, period of residence, employment or contribution to any social security scheme. In addition there are various statutory and voluntary agencies designed to facilitate the search for employment and to give legal and other advice on any personal or practical problem with which the individual may be faced. The universality and non-discriminatory character of these provisions is such that some members of the indigenous white population are apt to assert that the immigrants come to Britain in order to have an easy time at the expense of the taxpayer. There is no evidence to support this view, although the absence of adequate social services in the countries from which the immigrants come is undoubtedly one of the biggest motivating factors in emigration.

During the war and for a period afterwards the Colonial Office in Britain maintained a skeleton welfare department which was concerned with the special problems of adjustment which colonial immigrants experienced. In 1951 the Government decided to close down this service and the responsibility for providing special welfare and advisory services for immigrants from Commonwealth and colonial territories was handed over to the Governments of the countries concerned, through their High Commission Offices in London. As a consequence there was a period during which the provisions were completely inadequate. An investigation on behalf of the Jamaican Government undertaken by Dr. Clarence Senior in 1955 recommended the expansion of the special welfare services for West Indian immigrants.[24] The recommended increase in staff took place and there was further reorganization after the establishment of the Federation of British West Indies

in 1957. Nevertheless, there is still room for a *considerable expansion of the service* if all the legitimate needs of the immigrants are to be met. The work already covers the reception of immigrants, advisory and personal welfare services, public relations, industrial relations and community relations. Staff and facilities are still inadequate in all these fields.

The West Indian immigrants have the advantage, when they arrive in Britain, of speaking English—which is their mother tongue. This is not true of many of the African and Asian immigrants, who in some cases may be severely handicapped by the inadequacy of their English. Some local authorities, notably in Birmingham, were enterprising enough to perceive the need for special evening classes for immigrants where they could improve their English and other basic subjects such as arithmetic. They combined these classes with the provision of recreational facilities for the immigrants, who were gradually encouraged, when they reached an adequate standard, to transfer to the ordinary further education classes provided by the local authority for the population as a whole. Schemes such as these appear to have been very succesful and might well be extended. Although West Indians are not handicapped by language they are frequently ill informed about English social customs and have unrealistic expectations of life in Britain when they first arrive. It would be valuable if local authorities, in areas where a number of immigrants have settled, were to *provide induction courses at evening institutes*, combined with facilities for recreation shared with the white people also attending the institute. Such courses would have a useful contribution to make to the adjustment of the immigrant during his first few months in Britain.

Several investigators have noted that Moslem and Chinese immigrants have different expectations and aspirations from the West Indians with regard to assimilation and that non-Moslem West African immigrants fall between the two. Linguistic, religious and nationalistic factors combine to provide strong feelings of in-group solidarity in the case of immigrants from certain Asian and African countries which contrast with the much closer identification with the United Kingdom and desire for complete assimilation which are characteristic of the majority of West Indians.[26] Given the present state of attitudes towards coloured immigrants in Britain already described, the role-expectations and aspirations of the latter are hardly compatible with conditions in reality. It has been shown that as a consequence the West Indian immigrants are more exposed to the kinds of conflict situation which give rise to deviant behaviour and personal maladjustment than immigrants who form more closely knit and organized communities.[26] This has an important bearing upon plans which have recently been proposed for 'community development' work among West Indians in Britain.

From the point of view of public policy there is a very real dilemma here. Individual adjustment is undoubtedly easier in a partially separate ethnic group sharing similar backgrounds, attitudes and values. In such a group an individual migrant can feel a sense of belonging and

security. At the same time the deliberate encouragement of such a 'pluralistic' structure within a society reinforces existing barriers to communication between the immigrants and the host society. As a result, stereotypes are not tested against reality and group hostility and conflict are more liable to occur. Against this must be set the fact that until the attitudes and values of the members of the white majority have changed and prejudice has diminished, individual immigrants endeavouring to gain acceptance in primary group relationships are likely to meet with considerable resistance, which is likely to have deleterious effects upon the mental health and adjustment of the immigrants[27].

There is a further point with regard to the Moslem and Chinese. Although the immigrants themselves appear to be fairly content to live a partially separate existence in the community with regard to residence, recreational activities and religious observance, the children of the immigrants (whose mothers are usually indigenous whites) are not so satisfied with the arrangement and are more likely to aspire to assimilation.[28] The fact that they have grown up in Britain attending schools alongside their white peers will have led them to identify closely with the white community, even when, as in the case of the Moslems, attempts have been made by the parents to bring them up in the faith of Islam.

There can be no short-term solution to this problem. Much will depend upon the success or failure of efforts to reduce the prejudice and discrimination shown by whites. So long as the immigrants or their descendants want to be assimilated, public policy should be designed to facilitate this process as far as possible. However, this does not detract from the value of 'community development' work among immigrants such as the West Indies Migrant Services Division is undertaking. But such action ought to be regarded as a transitional stage in a longer-term programme designed to foster and strengthen the links between the immigrants and the host society. Immigrant settlements in Britain should be regarded as *transitional communities providing a bridge between the culture of the immigrants' country of origin and that of the 'mother country' in which they seek acceptance.* If this policy is to be successful, potential community leaders among the immigrants must be encouraged to 'keep a foot in both camps' rather than to cut themselves off from the immigrant group, as successful West Indians have tended to do in the past.[29]

CONCLUSIONS AND SUMMARY

Given the premises that have been set out above, the findings of sociology and psychology concerning racial relations in Britain have led to the formulation of a programme of social action which could be the basis of a public policy designed to reduce the probability that racial prejudice, discrimination and conflict in Britain will be perpetuated or intensified. A programme of this kind is unlikely to be adopted

and made effective by the Government unless it is subjected to considerable pressure from influential bodies. There are already a number of organizations in Britain that have been formed for the express purpose of promoting racial unity and co-operation and others which include the elimination of various kinds of prejudice and discrimination among their objectives. At the present time their activities are sporadic, unco-ordinated and limited by lack of funds. There is a considerable need for an organization which could act as a channel of communication between other bodies concerned and possibly act as a spearhead for any campaign designed to achieve an effective public policy for racial relations. The *Working Group on the Diminution of Prejudice* may succeed in fulfilling this need in the future.[30]

The following is a summary of the policy recommendations contained in this paper:—

1. A systematic campaign of adult and child education on race questions utilizing modern media of mass communication, particularly television.
2. The introduction of the teaching of race questions in schools on the lines recommended by the UNESCO expert committee on this subject.
3. The mixture of pupils of different racial and cultural backgrounds in schools and the encouragement of exchanges of teachers and pupils with other countries.
4. More adult education with regard to child psychology, particularly relating to parent-child and teacher-pupil relationships.
5. Introduction of legislation declaring discriminatory clauses in the leases of property null and void and further legislation requiring the proprietors of public hotels, bars, restaurants, cinemas, dance halls etc. to prove to the satisfaction of a court that they had proper grounds for refusing admission to their premises any applicant who claims to have been discriminated against because of race or colour.
6. An overall economic policy designed to maintain full employment throughout the country.
7. A rational housing policy designed to eliminate the post-war shortage more quickly, to raise the standard and quality of housing, and to educate public opinion concerning the problem of economic rents.
8. An expansion of the present special provision for the welfare of Commonwealth and colonial migrants in Britain.
9. The provision by local education authorities of special induction courses at evening institutes combining with recreational facilities in immigrant receiving areas.
10. A programme of 'community development' in areas where immigrants have settled, designed as a temporary phase in a process of gradual assimilation in which the areas of settlement are regarded as 'transitional communities' providing a bridge

between the immigrant's country of origin and the 'mother country' in which they seek acceptance.

11. That the *Working Group on the Diminution of Prejudice* and other organizations designed to influence public opinion and bring pressure upon the Government should extend their present work.

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[30] The Working Group on the Diminution of Prejudice was set up following the recommendation of a conference of non-governmental organizations called by the UN (Ecosoc) Subcommission on Human Rights, Geneva, 1955 and 1959.

A RECENT WEST INDIAN IMMIGRANT GROUP IN BRITAIN

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One afternoon in May 1955, I went down to the South London district of Brixton, to start work on a study of West Indian migrants in Britain.* As I turned off the main shopping street, I was overcome by a sense of strangeness, almost of shock. The street was a fairly typical South London side street, grubby and narrow, lined with cheap cafés, shabby pubs and flashy clothing-shops. All this was normal enough. But what had struck me so forcibly was that almost everybody in sight was black. Such a sight should have been familiar enough to me after years in Africa and the West Indies. And I had read that several thousands of West Indians had settled in Brixton since 1950. None the less, confronted with such a street scene in the heart of South London, I still experienced this profound reaction as if to something unexpected and alien. In the words of Ira D. Reid, I felt a 'colour shock'.

This first reaction of mine was, I think, that of most people in the United Kingdom, following the recent and relatively large-scale immigration of West Indians and other coloured Commonwealth citizens into Britain. They know that the majority of inhabitants of the British Commonwealth have coloured skins, and some have encountered them on their home ground. Many people in the United Kingdom are even used to the idea that there are old-established coloured communities tucked away in dock and port areas in Britain itself. But to be confronted with coloured people in highly visible groups in the centre of large industrial cities in Britain itself, this is something that at first seems strange and even out-of-place to most people here.

I have dwelt on this incident because it seems to me to illustrate a basic difference between the present situation in Britain and the colour situation in the American South, South Africa or the West Indies. Another fundamental difference is obviously that of relative numbers. In Britain there are fewer than 250,000 coloured immigrants. But apart from numbers, what we have in Britain at the present stage is to my mind not a colour or a race situation—it is an immigrant situation. This immigrant situation is undoubtedly complicated by the factor of skin colour, which makes these particular immigrants, whether they are West Indians, West Africans or Asians, more immediately visible and more strange than the thousands of other immigrants who have entered the country since the war. But the difference is at present one of degree, rather than of kind. In Britain, that insular, conservative, homogeneous society, mild xenophobia or antipathy to outsiders would appear to be

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a cultural norm. It is extended in varying degrees to all outsiders, from Poles and coloured people to people from the next village or street. It should also be stressed that the new West Indian migrant group differs from the British receiving society in social and cultural background at least as much as do such immigrant groups as the Italians, Latvians and Cypriots. These social and cultural differences between the West Indians and the British in the United Kingdom are, however, often obscured by the facts of a common citizenship, a common language, and a common adherence to Christian doctrine.

It should, however, be realized that the bulk of the new West Indian migrants in Britain are drawn from a mainly rural, colonial proletariat, with a background of slavery, poverty and frustration which has left a distinctive mark on working habits, family organization, religious practice, and attitudes to authority. This historical background has also left most West Indians with a far stronger colour-consciousness than is felt by most residents of Britain. The social and cultural patterns of lower-class West Indian migrants are thus often very different from those of the corresponding class in Britain today. It is only to be expected that problems of culture conflict should arise, particularly in such spheres as sex and family life, residential proximity and intimate social relationships, and that the migrants themselves should often explain these conflicts in terms of colour. Such frictions would, however, arise, as they do in the case of Southern Irish or Cypriot migrants, even if all visible differences were erased.

It is therefore erroneous to compare the new and fluid British situation with those in South Africa or the Southern States, where a colour bar has for generations been fixed in law and custom. Instead, the new West Indian migrants to Britain are passing through the same kinds of dynamic process in their relationships with the local population as do all other working-class economic migrants—the same processes as the Puerto Ricans in New York, or the East European Jews in London in the last century, or the Poles and Southern Irish in England today.

Relationships between an incoming group and a receiving society develop on an interacting, two-way basis which may be summed up in the rather clumsy formula—'adaptation and acceptance'. The processes of adaptation and acceptance do not always proceed smoothly, not at the same speed. They usually move faster in one sphere—for instance in economic life—than in others. There are also various stages on the way to complete adaptation and acceptance, and the history of earlier emigrations suggests that the final stage is rarely reached in the first immigrant generation. One final stage is that of the assimilation of groups or individuals. Assimilation means complete adaptation by the immigrants, or more usually by their descendants, accompanied by complete acceptance of them by the receiving society in all areas of association.

Another advanced and sometimes final stage of adaptation and acceptance is integration, which applies only to groups. This is integration, or absorption in a pluralistic setting, as Eisenstadt calls it.[1]

This is a stage in which the immigrants or minority group has through its own institutions adapted itself to permanent membership of the receiving society, particularly in such universal spheres as economic membership of the receiving society, particularly in such universal spheres as economic and civic life. On its side, the receiving society has accepted the group as a lasting entity, an entity that differs in certain specialized spheres such as religion, cultural and family patterns, sometimes even in language or in the retention of a secondary loyalty to a country of origin. Canada and Switzerland afford examples of such integration. Like assimilation, full integration rarely takes place in the first migrant generation. In the first generation, we are usually concerned with the process of accommodation.

Accommodation may be defined as the attainment by migrant individuals or groups of a *modus vivendi* in the new situation. The migrants establish themselves economically and residentially, and conform at least superficially to the new society's behaviour patterns. On the side of the receiving society, accommodation involves a certain limited acceptance of the newcomers. This acceptance is likely to be greater in some situations than in others, for instance, in such defined and institutionalized areas of association as employment, public services, education and legal and political rights. In less defined and more intimate areas of association such as intermarriage, private social relationships and residential proximity, the degree of acceptance is likely to be much lower.

In Brixton, as in other British areas with a post-war migrant group, accommodation would seem the only useful concept to apply in analysing inter-relationships. For the bulk of the West Indian newcomers are still oriented towards their homes and their former way of life. They are preoccupied with dreams of a speedy and successful return; and they are unwilling or unequipped to make more than a minimal adaptation to the new environment, although many of them do, rather illogically, expect immediate acceptance in Britain without any further adaptation on their part. For their part, the majority of people in Britain still regard the West Indians as strangers and outsiders, just as they do the Hungarians, the Italians and even the Southern Irish. This combination of high expectations with low adaptability and low acceptability is of course a frequent cause of frustration and conflict for the migrants and tends to hinder their accommodation to the new environment.

The district was built up about a century ago. It had many wide roads lined with merchants' houses, held on long leases. By the 1930's, however, Brixton had greatly deteriorated in social status. And the war with its bombings, evacuations and requisitioning of vacant property for emergency housing gave residential Brixton another push down the road to dilapidation. Today, its population includes the residents of theatrical and other boarding-houses, Soho waiters, Whitehall charwomen, a few relics of the old carriage-folk, some West End

prostitutes and petty criminals, and a solid nucleus of artisans and white-collar workers. It is this nucleus of rather elderly people which still constitutes the effective public opinion of the area.

In general, community feeling and organization is as weak as in most parts of London. There are, however, certain informal and widely-observed rules of behaviour. Certain things are not done in Brixton. It is felt that Brixton is, or should be, a respectable place, a place where people keep their front-steps scrubbed, put clean lace curtains in their windows, show a television aerial, dress respectably and do not brawl or behave noisily in public.

The attitudes of Brixtonians to foreigners and outsiders generally are those of the average lower or lower-middle class Londoner—they are imbued with mild aversion and a certain patronage modified by the characteristic Londoner's 'live and let live' attitude. Most of their opinions have been acquired at second-hand, from the popular press, books, comics, the cinema or television. About coloured people in particular, Brixtonians, like other Londoners, have a number of vague and erroneous preconceptions, which associate coloured people not only with the lowest social status in the former colonial structure but with different and inferior cultures. History and geography books are notably slow to reflect new trends of opinion and many school children are still left with the impression that Negro peoples live in African jungles and are primitive, savage, heathen and promiscuous. It should, however, be stressed here that while many Brixtonians feel that Negro peoples are inferior they usually express this in cultural and not in biological terms. The pseudo-scientific racialism of the late nineteenth century has either been forgotten or never penetrated to these strata. In fact, the statements: 'After all, we're all the same really—people can't help the colour of their skin' and 'they'll be all right once they've learned our ways' were very frequently heard from Brixtonians during the course of this study.

Before the war there were relatively few foreigners or coloured people in Brixton. After 1945, however, this central area with its many rooming-houses became an obvious magnet for newcomers. Into it moved a steady stream of transient Southern Irish workers, Poles, Cypriots, Maltese and Italians. By 1948, a handful of West Indians had arrived and Brixton gradually became an unofficial reception centre for many of the Caribbean migrants who were arriving in London. By 1958, West Indians owned several hundred houses in the area, and were letting furnished rooms to thousands of their own compatriots. No exact statistics are of course available, but there must be at least 7,000 coloured residents in Brixton alone today. Over the last two years, however, the rate of increase has slowed appreciably, both because fewer migrants have been arriving in Britain, and because the area offers comparatively poor employment prospects. This area has attracted the more respectable working class migrants, many of whom have been joined by their legal or common-law wives and children. The proportion of women is quite high, perhaps as much as two to every three men.

Almost all are West Indians and the majority are from Jamaica. Most are law-abiding people, for Brixton holds fewer attractions for the more enterprising or the criminally-minded than the bright-light districts of Soho, Paddington or the old-established seamen's quarter of Stepney.

During the first few years of West Indian migration in Britain, housing was the main source of difficulties for the migrants and of friction between them and the local population. But in the mild two-year recession that followed the credit squeeze of 1956 it was employment that became the most immediate problem and potential source of friction between West Indians and local people in many areas in Britain.

This was of course particularly true of the areas that suffered most in the Depression of the thirties and of areas with a long history of bad industrial relations. Most London boroughs do not, however, come in this category. In the case of Brixton, at least half the working population usually works outside the borough, and there are no strong communal memories of past unemployment in the immediate area. The Brixton employment exchange has for decades been an exporter of labour to other London boroughs and to the provinces. This exchange, therefore, took the West Indian migrants in its stride. And under a succession of well-disposed and energetic managers it was able to prevent the formation of a permanent pool of West Indian unemployment, even in the worst of the recession.

The unemployment figures for the district did, however, reflect the vulnerability of the unskilled West Indian worker in times of economic stress. The overall number of unemployed in Brixton rose from just over eleven hundred in September 1956 to about 3,000 in the autumn of 1958. The proportion of coloured unemployed, however, rose from approximately one-quarter to one-third of the total. In late 1958, moreover, placing of West Indians was taking considerably longer than it had done in 1955 and 1956, when a fortnight or less was the average. It should be noted that all through this recession period a considerable number of notified vacancies for skilled men remained unfilled for lack of suitable applicants. It was, however, increasingly difficult to place any unskilled work seekers in South London, while demand for labour from districts outside London, which were harder hit by the recession, ceased altogether.

By the spring of 1959, however, retrenchment appeared to be over in most of South London's industries, particularly in building and civil engineering, and the overall unemployment figures in Brixton in July showed much more than the average seasonal improvement. The position was not yet back to that of September 1956, but the exchange was finding it possible to place more West Indians than were registering for work, and so to cut down its backlog. The sight of large numbers of West Indians waiting for hours outside the employment exchange did, of course, tend to arouse local resentment. Resentment also grew amongst the migrants. Many if not most West Indian work-seekers were unaware of the overall situation. They tended to attribute their

troubles to discrimination at the employment exchange, although the evidence in Brixton and the surrounding district shows that the work of the employment exchanges has, on the contrary, been a positive factor in the employment situation, so far as West Indian migrants are concerned. In the ultimate analysis, however, the accommodation and later integration of West Indians in the employment sphere depends on the amount of work available, on the attitudes of British employers and workers—and, last but not least, it depends on the skills, adaptability and attitudes of the migrants themselves.

In the early 1950's, South London employers were short of both skilled and unskilled labour.[2] Most employers seem to have had misgivings about taking on coloured labour on the grounds of strangeness, unpredictability, and possibly low working ability, just as they had been doubtful a few years earlier about taking on Polish and other East European exile workers. Quite a number, however, agreed to try out coloured workers. This was particularly true of seasonal work and in poorly paid, dirty or otherwise unattractive industries, and especially of those industries which required a large semi-skilled or unskilled labouring force.

By the autumn of 1956, however, most avenues of this kind had been explored in Brixton and the surrounding areas. Some employers still continued to refuse coloured labour, backing their refusal with accounts of the unfortunate experiences of their neighbours. Many of those who had originally taken coloured labour now felt they had given it a fair trial. Some were no longer willing to employ coloured workers at all—most other firms were rather grudgingly willing to continue, but were limiting their intake to an unofficial quota of between five and ten per cent. This unofficial limitation was attributed by most managements to union or employee resistance. Some firms, particularly small family establishments and firms with a long local tradition, also stressed their desire to preserve the general character and tradition of their labour force. Frequent reference was made to 'our own people' (meaning stable local resident workers) and the priority of their interests was stressed.

The views of most employers who had experience of West Indian labour seem to have been derived from their first-hand contacts rather than any vague preconceptions. 'I don't care if he's black, white, khaki or green so long as he can do the job' was a commonly repeated assertion. Few employers were, however, enthusiastic about West Indian workers as a class. The general picture evolving amongst employers who had tried West Indian labour seemed to be roughly as follows:—

The great majority of West Indian workers were considered to be suitable only for unskilled and labouring work; they were, however, thought to be slow, but usually able to learn and perform a repetitive job; in groups they were found to be lazy and sometimes aggressive; they required more supervision than other workers; they were prone to make exaggerated claims about their skills and to expect far higher

wages than they were worth; many were touchy, and had a chip on their shoulder about colour ('If they are reprimanded or sacked, it's always the colour bar, never their own fault,' said several informants). Some employers found West Indians irresponsible, difficult to understand verbally or psychologically; others complained of their eating and hygienic habits. On the question of promotion, most employers felt that their local labour force would not tolerate this at present, although a handful of West Indians had achieved minor advancement.

From my South London inquiries it seemed that in the majority of cases West Indian workers had not, as a group, won full acceptance from management or fellow-workers over the earlier years of full employment. The majority were regarded as stop-gap, unskilled or semi-skilled labour, which would be expendable in the event of large-scale redundancy. In this connexion, the reiteration by so many West Indian migrants of their intention to return home after a year or so was working against their interests. It gave employers a valid reason for regarding them as temporary workers whose interests should be considered after those of settled local workers. In taking on new workers, too, many firms were after early 1957 finding themselves in a position to pick and choose, and were giving preference to local people.

The overall situation in South London was not, however, without some hopeful features. The proportion of coloured unemployed, especially women, to the total was undoubtedly higher than the local average, but the great majority were still in work of some sort, despite the recession. A small minority of individual coloured workers, usually skilled men or old-timers, were highly regarded by their employers, and were accepted as part of the permanent labour force. Several of the larger firms, with more time and money to experiment with selection and training methods, were relatively well satisfied with their West Indian employees. Most encouraging of all was the situation at one of the few firms which regarded coloured workers as part of its permanent labour force. This was a specialized engineering establishment that employed mainly skilled workers, and had successfully trained quite a number of West Indian artisans to its particular requirements. In general, it was noticeable that where the management had taken a positive and patient line over the employment of West Indians, worker reactions had been more favourable, and the experiment had been successful.

In times of full employment in Britain, labour-hungry employers have on the whole followed a policy of expediency that has tended to assist the accommodation of all migrant workers. The attitudes of British workers have, on the other hand, been a powerful factor working against the newcomer in industry, be they Poles, Italians, Hungarians, or West Indians.

On this subject, organized labour speaks with two voices. At the higher level, the unions call for equality and justice for all working men. But at branch level and on the factory floor, the British workingman's old fears of unemployment, dilution, under-cutting and lowered status can sometimes be more powerful. In the years of full employment

these fears were less acute. But resentment was often felt by team-workers who found their earnings lowered by a West Indian's slowness; this also applied to workers in undermanned industries who had come to count on overtime pay as part of their regular income.

It is rightly said that the attitudes of most British people are still highly fluid, and susceptible to first-hand experience or to such influences as favourable or unfavourable propaganda. It was interesting to note how greatly the position varied in similar South London firms, or even in different departments of the same firm, as a result of the influence of a particular individual. A strongly prejudiced shop-steward or foreman could create a hostile atmosphere throughout the working unit. In other cases, a positively unprejudiced individual could act as a sponsor, and ensure the acceptance of a number of West Indian newcomers.[3]

Accommodation is a two-way process. Acceptance by local workers must, therefore, be accompanied or even preceded by the will and capacity to adapt on the part of the migrants themselves. On this point it is worth quoting the comment of a high trade union official to whom I spoke in 1957.

'The men spend most of their working lives in the factory environment,' he said, 'and a feeling of community is evolved. The West Indian is a worse outsider than most. Often he doesn't smoke—he doesn't stand his round of drinks in the pub after work—he may work too hard and he doesn't know or bother to learn the factory gossip or protocol of behaviour, or use accepted forms of swearing. Factory life is a hard one and each newcomer is judged and classified before he realizes it. And in times of unemployment all outsiders are barred. In the early thirties, my own Tyneside accent nearly caused a riot in a Labour Exchange queue in Birmingham . . .'

Some migrants have already learned factory protocol and comradeship. A more permanent impediment to acceptance by fellow-workers or by employers is, however, found in the average West Indian worker's poor educational background and lack of industrial experience. Since 1953 the trend has been for an increasing number of migrants to have less education; to come from rural areas or the smaller, less industrialized islands; and to be unskilled or semi-skilled by their own account.[4] A large number are also known to have been unemployed for a considerable period before they migrated, while many more were seasonal migrant workers, unemployed for a considerable part of the year.[5]

The speed, mechanization and routine of British industrial life are far more intensive than anything in the past experience of the average West Indian migrant, except for a minority who have previously worked in the United States. Older workers and those from rural areas sometimes find that they can never adapt themselves to anything but the simplest labouring jobs. Even men who regarded themselves as skilled by West Indian standards are often resentful because they are unable to get similar work and status here. This is not altogether surprising in the light of a report on industrial training methods in Jamaica published in 1953.[6] The disparity of standards is further highlighted by the fact that

in the period 1953–55, 25 per cent. of the small group of migrants classed as illiterate claimed on their exit forms to be skilled men.[7]

Without a job, an economic migrant cannot begin to accommodate himself to his new life. Without reasonable living-quarters, the same thing is true. In Brixton, the West Indians have over the last five or six years found their own solution to the physical problem of housing. A West Indian newcomer in Brixton no longer has to face the ordeal of a door-to-door search and the possible snubs of white landladies. He can be fairly sure of finding some sort of living-space with relatives or amongst his own people, from the day he arrives. There are now so many West-Indian owned houses in South London that the more particular can even choose their place and district of residence. The coloured quarter in Brixton is no longer uniform—it has evolved three definite stages of settlement. The orginal coloured settlement near Lambeth Town Hall is the first stage. It houses the new arrivals, the poor, the unsuccessful, the lonely, the restless, and the small minority of anti-social or criminal types. Those West Indians who become settled and financially secure usually move out of this over-crowded area after a year or so. They move to streets with a better social standing and a lower concentration of coloured residents within a two or three-mile radius of the centre. Some buy their own houses and set up as landlords themselves. Finally, there is a third group, consisting of a handful of professionals, white-collar workers, old-timers and artisans, living with their families in their own flats or suburban houses in predominantly white areas. A very few who have been here long enough to qualify for public housing live in council flats.

Certain housing problems seem to be common to most new areas of West Indian settlement throughout the country, particularly where lower-class West Indians have moved into a declining lower-middle-class or upper-working-class area. Most immediate and acute are the frictions that arise in a shared house, as a result of social and cultural differences between English tenants and their West Indian landlords or fellow-lodgers. Such frictions may be due to different ideas on over-crowding, privacy, domestic noise, the use and care of shared sanitary facilities, cooking smells, attitudes to women and so on. These conflicts are usually resolved by the departure of the English tenant. Some hard cases arise, however, in the case of elderly people who live in cheap, rent-controlled flats in houses bought by West Indians and who lack the capital or the energy to move elsewhere. A further source of friction is found in the belief, not always justified, that coloured infiltration into an area means lowered property values.

Another aspect of the housing situation affects the West Indian migrants themselves. They have a ceiling over their heads, but most of them are housed in a way that is unlikely to increase their working capacity or general well-being. In addition, they pay rents that are higher than the local average, and out of all proportion to their weekly income. In Brixton, the weekly average for a large room in a West Indian house is £2 10s. to £3, for a small or shared room £1 5s. to

£1 10s. An average unskilled male worker's basic wage would be £8 to £9 a week and that of a woman £5 to £6. These high rents mean that many migrants can do no more than live from hand to mouth, barely meeting their weekly commitments here and to their families at home. They can rarely accumulate any capital for repaying borrowed fare money, buying a return ticket to the West Indies, or buying a home of their own in London. In the meantime, they fall under the influence of the powerful new élite of West Indian landlords. The latter have come to constitute virtually the only source of internal social control amongst the West Indian group in Brixton. Some such controls are essential, but this new power of the landlords has not always proved an unmixed blessing.

Other problems connected with housing could arise at a future date. One is that of over-concentration, resulting in the gradual creation of a coloured ghetto. Such a concentration has some advantages in the early years of settlement. It reduces the chances of friction with the local population, and eases the migrants' lives by providing them with a familiar and congenial environment in which to relax from the day's strains.

Later, however, a ghetto type of settlement may perpetuate segregation long after the inhabitants have ceased to wish for it. This is particularly likely to happen in the case of a highly visible group such as the West Indians. Fortunately, however, the Brixton settlement is not geographically isolated as was the coloured dock area in Cardiff.[8] West Indians are moving away from the central reception area of settlement all the time—and even the latter has a limited life, because it is on land marked for redevelopment by the local authorities.

The presence of a large number of West Indian women in Brixton has undoubtedly furthered the process of accommodation on the migrant side. The women have helped to improve living standards and have brought a certain stability and order into migrant life. More than the men, they have made tentative neighbourly contacts with white local housewives. And their presence has helped to prevent much potential friction in the area of informal social relationships. In immigrant situations everywhere, the sphere of close social relationships, particularly between the sexes, is usually the last stage of local acceptance. This is particularly so in an area like Brixton, where the settled local population belongs to the artisan or white-collar class and is highly status-conscious. Most local people not only regard the new West Indian migrants as outsiders but also rank them at the lowest social and cultural level. As a consequence, informal and intimate social relationships rarely develop at present, and intermarriage is generally regarded as de-classing for the local girl. Brixtonians are, however, more accustomed to see local West Indians walking out with their own women-folk, and often with their children. The presence of these West Indian women and children has dispelled much of the vague apprehension and antipathy felt by many local people. As for the children, they are now entering the day nurseries, nursery schools and primary schools along

with local children. In these early years there is no colour differentiation or prejudice, and this process of growing up together in the same social and cultural environment could, if rightly guided, lead to a feeling of closer local community in the second generation.

At the present time, general social relationships between the local population and the West Indians in Brixton are mainly restricted to casual contacts. This should surprise nobody in the early years of settlement of any migrant group. The West Indians have as yet little time, money or energy to devote to non-economic ends. A West Indian welfare worker described their life—'Most of them live rough and send all their spare cash home . . . They just move between their rooms and their jobs, and rarely see more of London than the streets and shops in between. Most of them don't even go to church, as they used to do in the West Indies.'

West Indian migrants sometimes complain of getting a cold or hostile reception if they go to church or join local associations. In Brixton, however, many doors have been open for years now without any noticeable response. Even clubs and associations catering expressly for the migrants' needs or to promote inter-racial contacts tell the same story—one of initial enthusiasm, followed by a prolonged struggle against apathy amongst the immigrants themselves. But it has to be remembered that West Indians are not great joiners even at home. They have so far evolved no associations of their own in the Brixton area, with the exception of a couple of pentecostal congregations, a few short-lived protest organizations, and a fair number of small informal economic partnerships which exist for the purpose of saving enough capital to put down a deposit on a house, pay for a wife's fare over and so on. In their brief leisure time, most Brixton West Indians do not really want to be involved in activities organized by well-meaning strangers. Like most South Londoners, the West Indians prefer to make their own amusements. They eat their accustomed food, gossip, listen to jive-music on their radiograms, and do the football pools. Occasionally, they go to watch or play cricket, or dance and drink rum at a lavish wedding or christening-party.

In Brixton, therefore, social relationships between local people and West Indians remain predominantly casual—in streets, shops, buses and public houses. A certain degree of accommodation can however be discerned in these situations. There have been West Indians in Brixton for over eight years now, and they no longer seem strange or out of place in the street. As one Brixtonian said to me: 'We didn't like it much at first, but we've got used to them now. After all, they've got to live somewhere. They can't help the colour of their skin.'

In Brixton shops and offices, staff take all comers in turn, and address them alike as 'Madam', 'Sir', or in Brixton Market as 'dear' or 'luv'. To quote a member of the local Chamber of Commerce: 'The West Indians have been a shot in the arm to local trade'. A number of food-shops in the Market have begun to stock West Indian foods;

the record shops have calypsoes and expensive radiograms on hire-purchase. The smaller tailors advertise: 'Suits made to measure in English, American, Edwardian (Teddy Boy) or West Indian style'.

In the public-houses, those cliquey refuges of the elderly Cockney, acceptance has been slower. Some years ago there were one or two incidents. By now, however, the West Indians have found 'locals' where they are sure of a welcome. Last year, a fight started outside a local public-house. The landlord came out at once to give evidence against the white participant: 'He was looking for trouble,' he said, 'Joe here (the West Indian) is a regular and a gentleman, and he was only defending himself.' This is not the only reported incident of this kind.

The 1958 disturbances in Notting Dale and elsewhere naturally attracted immense attention in Britain and overseas. This has helped to obscure the fact that in scores of other towns and districts in Britain, relations between the West Indian migrants and the local population have for years been developing in a humdrum and relatively peaceful manner. It is not Notting Dale, but Brixton and the many areas like it, that are characteristic of the overall situation of West Indians in Britain today.

This British situation, as I said earlier, is not primarily one of colour differences but of relationships between immigrants and the receiving society. It is in the early stage of accommodation on both sides. It is fluid and varies widely in different situations and areas. The process of adaptation and acceptance may be relatively slow and difficult, not only because the migrants' colour identifies them as outsiders and is historically associated in the receiving society with low social and cultural levels. It will also be slow because the majority of migrants are, in fact equipped to enter British society only at a low socio-economic level, and because West Indian lower-class cultural patterns differ considerably from those in the receiving society.

A large-scale economic recession in the next few years could certainly upset and perhaps reverse the slow process of accommodation, and evoke a wave of hostility and discrimination against all identifiable outsiders. Otherwise, the material from Brixton and similar areas suggests that the process of adaptation and acceptance will continue, though not without checks and frictions. The process will be facilitated by the relatively small numbers involved and by the fact that Britain has a unified and democratic social structure which permits of no formal differentiation of minority groups. Accommodation and ultimate integration or assimilation are also likely to be facilitated as the British receiving society adapts itself to its changed role and status within the new multi-racial Commonwealth.

FOOTNOTES

[1] S. N. Eisenstadt, *The Absorption of Immigrants*, London, Routledge, 1954, pp. 16–26.

[2] This account is based on interviews with some thirty South London firms, amplified by accounts of employer-reaction provided by seven South London employment exchanges.

[3] In his *Coloured Minorities in Britain*, London, Lutterworth, 1947, pp. 30–32 and passim, Dr. Sydney Collins has brought out the importance of the sponsoring individual or association in a fluid immigrant situation.

[4] G. W. Roberts and D. O. Mills, 'Study of External Migration Affecting Jamaica 1953–5'. Supplement to Vol. 7, No. 2. *Social and Economic Studies*.

[5] W. F. Maunder,'The New Jamaican Emigration', *Social and Economic Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 1, March 1953, pp. 52–5, 57.

[6] Ella Campbell, 'Industrial Training Methods and Techniques', *Social and Economic Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 1, September 1953, p. 13.

[7] G. W. Roberts and D. O. Mills, *op cit*.

[8] The area studied by Dr. K. L. Little in his pioneer study, *Negroes in Britain*, London, Routledge, 1948.

BIOLOGY AND HUMAN VARIATION

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As a fact of nature, human geographical variation arouses our scientific curiosity, inviting closer scrutiny with a view to rational explanation, while in its social context it faces us with recurrent moral and political problems. Biological thought has played a part in moulding public opinion on these issues and the views of biologists have in turn been influenced by the social milieu of their time. Aristotle, perhaps the greatest of ancient zoologists, asserted, with reservations, that some men and some nations were slaves by nature, and similar arguments, more or less sophisticated in their appeal to biological evidence, have been repeated down to our own day whenever social discrimination has needed a theoretical justification. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the biology of human variation was emerging as a distinct discipline, learned disputes were given a sharper edge by partisanship in the American slavery question. The supporters of opposing scientific doctrines allied themselves with contrary factions in the social controversy. The monogenists, who held that there is a single species of man, stemming from one divine act of creation, and that geographical variants were relatively trivial modifications induced by climatic differences, were sympathetic to the anti-slavery party, while the polygenists, who believed that there are several human species, each fitted by a separate creative event to its own environment, were generally aligned with the opposite faction. Arguments grounded on biblical authority needed a serious overhaul when the theory of evolution gained general acceptance, and human ingenuity proved equal to the task. If men were descended from apes might it not be that some branches of the human evolutionary tree had lagged behind and were destined, on Darwinian principles, to be overwhelmed and eliminated by stocks with superior endowment?

Ignorance of biology is not a major cause of racial conflicts and sociologists and psychologists can contribute more than biologists to our understanding of the conditions which lead to prejudice and strife; but mistaken ideas about the nature of 'race', the mechanisms of heredity and the processes of evolution tend to nourish prejudice and biologists have a duty to refute false statements of fact and illogical conclusions. While they are unlikely to disagree in rejecting many of the grosser distortions found in racial propaganda, when they are asked to speculate about the future, to discuss topics about which there is little reliable evidence and to indulge in social valuations of scientific findings, we must expect conflicting personal opinions, not to say prejudices, to emerge.

Problems of classification

The study of human variation began to assume a modern form in the eighteenth century when the comparative anatomy of animals and the work of classification were making rapid progress, and some of the

earliest classifications of man date from this period. Taxonomy, the science of classification, is older than evolutionary biology and still older than genetics. It has the practical aim of organizing the vast array of living organisms into a system, based on their resemblances, for convenience of identification and reference, but, as Darwin perceived, these resemblances are often due to common ancestry. Modern taxonomists therefore aim at something more than an arbitrary cataloguing of animal forms and they try to make their classification consistent with our knowledge of evolutionary relationships as inferred from fossils and other evidence.

Nearly all experts agree that the existing forms of man belong to a single species. The species is a fundamental taxonomic unit but one which is almost proverbially difficult to define in a way which includes exceptional cases. Generally speaking, if we are classifying a group of animals into clearly defined categories, the species is the ultimate unit of subdivision. The members of a species share certain features, which are presumed to be inherited, which distinguish them clearly from other species, and interbreeding leading to the production of intermediate forms does not occur in nature. From an evolutionary point of view speciation is an important stage of divergence because genetic differences have reached a point at which exchange of genes with other populations by interbreeding is no longer possible. The practising taxonomist usually has to work with only a few specimens and to decide simply from the degree of structural difference whether a form deserves specific rank; but sometimes reproductive isolation and anatomical divergence are not closely correlated, as in mosquitoes, in which populations which look almost identical may be incapable of fertile crossing.

Most, if not all, species are not uniform throughout their geographical or ecological range; local populations can be distinguished by minor differences of structure, behaviour or genetic composition; but they are not reproductively isolated and hybrid forms occur where they meet or overlap. The term subspecies is the only officially accepted name for such groups but variety and race are often used. It is the latter word that has proved so troublesome in the human context. Not only has it often been misunderstood but writers with political motives have invested it with overtones of social valuation. However vague and undefined the uses of the word may be it generally carries the implication that the differences in question are genetical and it is therefore misleading when cultural attributes, which probably owe little or nothing to the inheritance of genes, are also included.

The naïve conception of a definite number of human races, each clearly distinguishable by its characteristic array of features, is one which is hard to dispel, perhaps because it is so easy to grasp. The idea of highly variable populations which differ in a quantitative, statistical sense is more subtle and difficult to communicate. There is, in fact, nothing at all new in the recognition that all human populations are very variable and the distinctions between them far from sharp; it was clear enough to Blumenbach in the eighteenth century and to Prichard

some fifty years later, and both realized that a formal classification of man is only a crude approximation as a means of representing actual variation. Nevertheless a passion for classification, amounting to a mild disorder, has burdened anthropology with some truly monstrous examples comprising thirty or more groups. Classification into definite categories is justifiable when such discontinuities actually exist in nature; it is more artificial when groups intergrade but are still discernible as foci in which certain characteristics are concentrated, and it is futile when variation takes the form of continuous gradients.

In the case of characters like stature or intensity of skin pigmentation which show a continuous, graded type of variation within any population, the differences between one population and another are most conveniently expressed in terms of averages. Very often the range of variation within each is so great that it exceeds the difference between their average values, and it is only when we select the most extreme groups of man for comparison that the ranges of variation scarcely overlap and we can assign each individual to his appropriate group. When we are dealing with genetically simple attributes like blood groups, we can characterize a population by the frequencies of particular genes; we shall very often find that these genes are present in all populations and the differences between them are a matter of gene frequencies. If we wish to make accurate comparisons we have to consider not only the number of characters with respect to which populations differ but also the magnitude of the differences in each. There are statistical methods designed to deal with this kind of problem; they enable us to arrive at a measure of overall divergence or 'distance' between two populations in each of which a number of characters has been measured, and they are therefore more satisfactory than a crude and subjective sorting into groups.

Mankind is diversified into enormous numbers of geographical and social units, nations, tribes, sects, classes and many others. To a greater or lesser extent these form closed breeding communities, the members of which are more likely to mate with one another than with outsiders. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that some degree of biological differentiation is likely to be found between any such groups which we care to select if we study them carefully enough. In detail, therefore, human variation is extremely complicated, and the task of description is so great that it remains far from complete; indeed, since new types of genetical variation are discovered almost annually and many more must surely remain undetected, completeness is virtually unattainable. Even in the case of anthropometric measurements, so industriously collected for a hundred years, there are many peoples who have never been examined or have been studied quite inadequately. But even the most accurate methods of description and comparison are only a means to an end, and the mere accumulation of data on variation is scarcely more exalted than stamp collecting unless it is guided by some biological rationale. Physical anthropology had a historical bias even before the theory of evolution confirmed

this interest and canalized its energies in efforts to reconstruct the past. Advances in genetics have given a new impulse to such studies and they remain a major preoccupation today, but these advances have also made us aware of certain difficulties and have emphasized the need for restraint in speculation. As we shall see in the following sections, modern genetical work on human populations leads us into fields of biology which are only incidentally concerned with historical reconstruction but which are relevant to more immediate problems of health and survival.

Genes and environments; the rise of genetics

During the latter half of the last century many of the phenomena of heredity still remained obscure although important progress had been made by Galton and others. Darwin himself, in presenting his theory of natural selection, was puzzled to account for the origin of variation and to understand how it could be maintained in a population so as to provide a basis for selection. When Mendel realized that inheritance depends on particles, which we now call genes, and that these retain their identity (apart from occasional changes due to mutation) and are transmitted from parents to offspring according to simple statistical rules, the way was open for the development of a singularly exact branch of biology. While experimental geneticists during the last forty years have been extending Mendel's discovery, mapping the positions of genes on the chromosomes of the cell nucleus and investigating the ways in which they produce their effects in embryonic life, others have been re-examining evolutionary theory in the light of the new knowledge. Field research on natural populations of fruit-flies, butterflies, moths and snails was designed to demonstrate the selection of genetical variants in nature and to gain insight into the mechanisms of speciation. At the same time geneticists with a mathematical bent started to investigate the consequences of mendelian transmission, recurrent mutation and natural selection on the genetic composition of populations by means of theoretical models. They showed, amongst other things, that mutation rates and selective advantages of a magnitude likely to occur in nature were adequate to produce evolutionary change at rates consistent with the evidence of the fossil record.

The pedigrees of various uncommon abnormalities provided many examples of mendelian inheritance in man, but the body measurements and pigmentary differences of contemporary anthropology proved less satisfactory in this respect. It was only when the discovery of the blood groups gave to anthropologists a set of characters which not only show wide geographical variations but are also amenable to exact genetical analysis that a fruitful liaison between the two subjects was established.

Boas' early work on the skull form of immigrants to the United States and their descendants and several later studies of the same kind have cast doubt on the assumption that differences in skeletal measurements are due to genetic causes alone. Direct effects of diet and disease on growth cannot be ignored when we are comparing

populations and may be important when we are dealing with comparatively small variations in the size and form of the body. There are also other difficulties in analysing this type of variation apart from the complicating effects of environment. Many graded metrical characters, both anatomical and physiological, as well as intelligence as measured by standard tests, appear to depend on the combined actions of many genes. The same is true of various economically important qualities in domestic animals, and scientific breeders have therefore given the subject a good deal of attention. The identification of individual genes is generally impossible and their inheritance has to be treated in a broader, statistical manner. One lesson for anthropology is that equally tall or equally dark populations, to take an obvious example, may not necessarily owe their resemblances to the same genes, and we may sometimes be misled if we accept such complex characters as guides to evolutionary affinities. This kind of difficulty has, in fact, to be faced in dealing with much simpler genetical material; what were once thought to be single, inherited diseases depending on a difference in only one gene have in some cases been shown to include several conditions with a different genetic basis. This is intelligible if we remember that the visible features with which we usually work are the result of a long sequence of biochemical changes, the successive steps in which may depend on different genes; mutations affecting different stages of a process may therefore lead to very similar end results. In view of these complexities it is tactically sound to pay special attention to characters which are inherited in the clearest possible way, while not abandoning hope that more difficult ones can ultimately be attacked. In the case of skeletal measurements, material from archaeological sites provides our only direct, tangible evidence of the physique of extinct populations, and, for this reason, in spite of the difficulties of interpreting these variations genetically, the testimony of ancient bones cannot be ignored.

Galton hit on a useful phrase when he ascribed variation to 'nature and nurture'. We receive genes from our parents, not finished 'characters'. The attributes of the mature organism are not already present, rolled up like a Japanese waterflower and only waiting for the right stimulus to make them unfold. The genes, which we have every reason to regard as specific chemical substances, rather than mere abstractions, supply instructions for the biochemical reactions of development. Since these reactions involve materials derived from the environment, including the products of other genes, nature and nurture are in practice interdependent. It is a reasonable working principle that each gene has its own specific chemical function, and if this is so our best method of detecting a particular gene without ambiguity is by recognizing its primary action. Its more remote and indirect effects are more likely to be obscured by interfering factors. Since the most intimate analysis of gene action must be at the chemical level, biochemistry is sure to play an increasingly important part in genetics. The biochemical approach has already proved to be essential

in much fundamental work on the genetics of micro-organisms, but it has also led to the discovery of many new types of variation in man, some of which we shall describe in the following section.

Biochemical variation

Although the blood groups were not discovered by biochemists and ordinary chemical methods are not employed in detecting them, there is no doubt that these variations depend on slight differences in the composition of certain substances at the surface of the red blood cells. The difficulties of orthodox chemical analysis are formidable, and although our knowledge of the detailed structure of these substances is gradually being increased, progress has on the whole been slow. They are often referred to as blood group antigens because they can elicit the formation of specific antibodies when they are injected into a foreign organism, and it is by their reactions with antibodies that we detect them in the laboratory. The inheritance of these antigens is sometimes intricate but very clear, and we infer that there are few intermediate stages between the gene and the particular antigen which it produces.

Not many years ago it was discovered that the protein haemoglobin which gives red cells their colour also occurs in a number of different heritable forms. In parts of Africa, India and the Mediterranean, many people show a curious anomaly known as sickle-cell trait; their red blood cells assume bizarre forms when deprived of oxygen. The American chemist, Pauling, showed that sickle-cells contain two kinds of haemoglobin, one of which, sickle-cell haemoglobin (HbS), is relatively insoluble when de-oxygenated and therefore forms crystal-like structures which distort the cell. Since then more than a dozen different haemoglobin variants have been described, their separation and detection depending on physico-chemical methods of analysis. Ingram at Cambridge succeeded in breaking some of these haemoglobins into their constituent parts and showed that HbS differed from normal haemoglobin in having one different amino-acid out of three hundred or so which go to build up the large molecule. Working on another haemoglobin variant, HbD, he and his colleagues also showed that three specimens collected in geographically different regions were not identical in chemical structure though they seemed the same by routine methods of examination. This is an excellent instance of the hidden complexities to be found even in very simply inherited traits. It is interesting that these refined examples of biochemical gene action were worked out on man, who is sometimes despised as an unsatisfactory creature for profound genetical studies. They also show how variants discovered in anthropological surveys can provide the chemists with new lines of approach in investigating the structure and properties of complex biological substances.

Although red cells contain mainly haemoglobin, other proteins are also present in small amounts. One of these is an enzyme, called G-6-PD for short, which catalyses certain reactions in the cell.

There is a condition known as favism, which occurs in some people of Mediterranean origin; if they eat certain kinds of bean, blood destruction leading to anaemia results. This susceptibility has now been found to be associated with a deficiency in G-6-PD and the defect is inherited as a sex-linked trait, being most severe in males though also detectable in many females. The gene is known to be common in Sardinia, in some Jewish populations and in parts of Africa.

One more example of biochemical variation: when blood is clotted and allowed to stand a yellowish fluid called serum, which contains various proteins in solution, can be drawn off. Very beautiful separations of some of these serum proteins can be achieved by making them migrate through a starch jelly under the influence of an electric current. Smithies in Toronto showed that some of them, which are known as haptoglobins because they bind haemoglobin when it is added to the solution, occur in three common inherited forms, and these depend on two (allelic) genes. As with other examples already given, the frequency of these genes varies in different parts of the world.

The reason why so many genetical variants of blood have been discovered is no doubt because blood is easy to get and in some ways technically easy to study. Inherited biochemical variations obviously occur in other tissues, as we can tell from their indirect effects, but it is more difficult to take specimens and to subject them to direct analysis.

Genetic structure of human populations

The need for blood donors in medical work has made many people familiar with the groups, O, A, B and AB of the ABO system; everyone belongs to one of these four blood types. Their inheritance depends on three genes which are alternative variants at a particular position on the chromosomes, so that a person can only carry two of them. In technical terms we say that they are allelic genes, occupying the same genetic locus. Most populations contain all three genes but in very variable frequency. In some American aborigines the A and B genes are probably absent, and B is rare in Australian aborigines and present only in rather low frequency in western Europe, though very common in Asia. A population which contains two or more alleles of a gene in this way is said to be polymorphic for this gene. Other blood group systems depending on genes which are inherited independently from those of the ABO system also show polymorphism; there are, for example, many different blood types belonging to the Rhesus system, others again in the MNS system, not to mention a number of less familiar ones, and in all these cases populations carry two or more of the variant forms.

If we have enough data we can plot out the frequencies of these various blood group genes on the world map so that we may appreciate their variation in space. We find that over some areas the frequency of a particular gene may change quite gradually while in other regions it may be more abrupt. The patterns of distribution of different genes do not necessarily coincide and populations which are remarkable for their

divergent frequencies in one blood group may differ very little from their neighbours with respect to another. It is difficult to say whether on the whole the distribution of these simple genetical characters accords with the old geographical groups or races established on the basis of visible external features. The blood group frequencies of European peoples, for example, tend to fall within a certain restricted range, though with notable exceptions, such as the Basques and Sardinians, while in 'Negro Africa' the Rhesus combination known as Ro is outstandingly common, and there are a number of other blood group antigens which seem to be much more frequent in this region than in other areas which have so far been studied. Curiously enough, however, Ro reaches almost its highest frequencies in the Bushmen who differ from other Negro peoples not only in appearance but also in the frequency of certain other genes. Then there is the Diego blood group antigen which is quite common in some American Indian tribes and also occurs in Japanese and Bornean Dyaks but, strange to say, has not been found in Eskimos who are also grouped among the mongoloid peoples. There is evidently a certain amount of agreement between the distribution patterns of morphological features and of some blood group genes, but it does not extend to detail, and within each of the so-called races there is a good deal of variation between the constituent populations.

Anthropologists hope to find in blood group patterns a clue to historical relationships, arguing that those populations which resemble one another most closely in the frequencies of a number of different genes are likely to be derived from a common source. Sometimes historical records, archaeological finds or linguistic and cultural evidence can be brought in to check the conclusions reached by biological methods; but, as everyone knows, languages can be changed and inventions and customs can be diffused without much biological intermixture or much movement of population. This kind of supplementary evidence must therefore be accepted with due caution, though it may provide a basis for useful working hypotheses.

It is obvious that the wide variations of gene frequency which we find in the world today cannot be completely explained by early mixtures and migrations, since these processes in themselves tend to produce greater uniformity. At some stage local differences in gene frequency must have been built up. Recurrent mutation can result in a very gradual rise in the frequency of a gene provided it is not disadvantageous, but mutations are infrequent events and a substantial change is likely to take many thousands of years. It is difficult to believe that during such long time periods the environment would not alter and so shift the selective value of the mutant, or that human populations would remain static. Quite small advantages, however, will speed up the rate of spread of a gene considerably and make it much more probable that a rare variant will avoid extinction and be able to gain a hold. Polymorphic populations already carry many gene variants in low frequency and these may become more common in an environment which favours

them, without waiting for new mutations to occur. At present our knowledge of mutation rates in man is slight, although the threat of atom bombs and other sources of mutation-producing radiation has given this subject a new urgency.

One might take the view that genetical polymorphisms are transient states representing stages in the disappearance of certain genes, and this is probably true in some instances, but there are reasons for thinking that they are usually more persistent. The case of the sickle-cell gene is a classical example which illustrates some of the principles involved. In some African peoples about 40 per cent. of the population have the sickle-cell trait; these individuals carry only one sickle-cell gene, or, in technical jargon, they are heterozygotes; but persons unfortunate enough to carry two sickle genes suffer from a severe congenital anaemia which usually kills them before maturity. When one of these homozygotes dies prematurely, his sickle genes are lost, since they are not passed on to the next generation. There is evidently a strong selection against this gene going on, so how does it manage to remain so common in some places? If the heterozygotes, that is, the sickle-cell trait individuals, enjoy some advantage over both normals and anaemics so that they are more likely to transmit their genes to their descendants, the loss might be compensated. There is a good deal of evidence that this is so, and that sickle-cell trait confers some immunity to a severe form of tropical malaria at least in early childhood, thereby decreasing the likelihood of premature death. We thus get a balance between selection in favour of the gene in heterozygotes and against it in homozygotes. The gene frequency reaches an equilibrium appropriate to the magnitude of the selective forces and will tend to return to this value if changed by some temporary disturbance. With some interesting exceptions the correlation between the incidence of this gene and the regional severity of malaria is quite good. The selective forces acting on the sickle-cell gene are probably unusually powerful and changes in environment could lead to quite rapid changes of frequency, measured in hundreds rather than thousands of years. This being so we must be cautious in taking it as a criterion of ancestral relationships, since rather rapid divergences between populations might occur if they were exposed to different environments.

When people ask whether a certain gene is bad or whether interbreeding between races is bad it is often difficult to give a straight answer. The sickle-cell gene is bad for the anaemics who die and good for the heterozygotes who gain protection; it is good for the population as a whole if they live in a malarious habitat since it provides a mechanism which combats this disease, though it does so rather wastefully. If we imagine a large contingent of Englishmen going out to tropical Africa and marrying native wives, we can predict that the frequency of the sickle-cell gene in the resulting hybrid group would be intermediate; in a malarious region their immediate descendants would be worse off than the African parents and better off than the English ones as far as the mechanism for protection against this disease is concerned. If the

Englishmen had induced the African ladies to come to England, however, the descendants of the hybrids would be at a disadvantage as compared with English people, because in the absence of malaria the sickle-gene would give them no benefit and some would die of sickle-cell anaemia in each generation. The answer to the question depends on which genes one has in mind, which populations interbreed, in what environment the hybrids live and whose point of view one is considering. Of course this may be very much oversimplified; there may be other selective forces acting on the sickle-cell gene as well, and indeed in parts of West Africa the presence of another haemoglobin variant, HbC, complicates the situation because people who have both a sickle-cell gene and an HbC gene suffer from anaemia to some extent and are probably at a selective disadvantage. This is one example of gene interaction which can greatly complicate predictions based on simple assumptions. HbC is also interesting because it reaches quite high frequencies in northern Ghana, falls away in surrounding areas and occurs only sporadically elsewhere as far as we know. It is possible that it arose by mutation in this region and increased because it was advantageous in some way which we have not yet discovered. Then there is HbE, which is common in Burma and Thailand, but again we do not know in what way it is biologically valuable. The gene for G-6-PD deficiency, mentioned above, seems to be frequent in some populations which also show much sickling and it may be involved in resistance to malaria. The selective value of the haptoglobin variants is obscure, but the fact that they bind haemoglobin liberated when red cells are destroyed in malaria or some other diseases, thereby preventing it from blocking the kidney, is suggestive.

Certain blood group systems are subject to a rather peculiar kind of selection due to the fact that some mothers make antibodies against the blood group antigens of their foetus and this may result in stillbirth or neonatal death. Possibly some elimination of offspring at an earlier stage may also occur on account of reactions of this type. The phenomenon of mother-foetus incompatibility is best known in the Rhesus system and the resulting deaths of some children means that certain Rhesus genes are eliminated; it is possible that a balancing mechanism comparable to that in sickle-cell may operate. Studies on the ABO blood group frequencies in samples of patients suffering from various diseases suggest that the antigens may be concerned in some way in susceptibility. Infectious diseases like plague, smallpox and measles which have at times decimated some populations would be very interesting to study from this point of view; but, by a curious irony, the advance of science, while making us aware of these problems, has given us so much control over epidemics that opportunities for such investigations are becoming increasingly rare.

It should be clear from these examples that work on natural selection in man is inevitably bound up with medical problems. We are concerned with questions of fertility and mortality, with the epidemiology of disease, and with those details of pathology which may help us to

understand why some genetical variants enjoy a measure of immunity. We are dealing with topics which bear on the health and survival of populations as they exist today, as going concerns, rather than as relics from which we may hope to glean some clues to the past. The world, with its great range of human habitats and its enormous variety in the patterns of society, can be looked upon, in a sense, as a laboratory in which the worth of genetical variants is put to the test; seen in this light, work on inherited traits in various human populations is simply a logical extension of the general science of heredity. This is by no means to disparage the historical and evolutionary approach, since present conditions can only be fully understood as the outcome of past events; but we must admit that much vitally important evidence of former conditions must inevitably have been lost, so that we shall often have to be satisfied with conjecture. We have some hope, however, of discovering selective factors in operation today and of forming some estimate of their magnitude. In order to appreciate the workings of natural selection to the full we are necessarily led into many ramifications of human ecology. We must consider climate and its direct physiological actions on man, its effect on his crops and other food resources and as a factor affecting the prevalence of various diseases. Then again the size of human communities and the pattern of their mating systems are relevant to their genetic structure. In very small populations chance comes to play an increasingly important part in determining whether a gene is passed on to succeeding generations; also when small groups, perhaps only a few families, separate off from a larger community to found new colonies it may happen, simply as an effect of statistical sampling, that their gene frequencies are rather divergent from those of the parent group. Chance effects of this kind may have been responsible for producing some of the genetic variation which we find today. Genetical divergence between populations cannot proceed very far if frequent matings with adjacent groups are constantly tending to redistribute genes, so that migration and outbreeding are matters of interest. In some communities, either because of geographical isolation or social preference, consanguineous unions are more frequent than in others; especially in the case of rare recessive genes, inbreeding results in a higher incidence of affected homozygotes and may thus expose the gene to selection to a greater extent. The age structure of the community also has a bearing on selection because some genes only manifest their effects relatively late in life, and social factors influencing the age of marriage may be important in relation to genetical abnormalities which are affected by the age of the parents.

The interpretation of gene distributions in populations therefore involves collaboration not only with experts in other branches of biology but with demographers and students of social structure. Physical anthropology has been an eclectic science ever since it began, needing facts, methods and theories from other special fields in order to turn them to account in its study of a single species. This appears to be equally true today.

MODIFICATIONS IN THE CIVIL LAW OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA

PHILIP MASON

That there should be one system of law for all the inhabitants of a country is clearly in general desirable, but in civil law this can seldom be wholly the case where there are communities which differ from each other in family structure and methods of inheritance. In Africa, the trend of British policy until the Second World War was increasingly towards leaving African social and legal systems as free from interference as possible and this meant that there could be no uniformity. In Northern Nigeria—an extreme example—there were three main systems of law, British, Muslim according to the *Maliki* school, and customary native law; the differences extended even to criminal law and produced the possibility of many anomalies, though in practice fewer than might have been supposed. The Northern Region is however now in the process of adopting a single criminal code, basically that of the Sudan, which itself was based on the Indian Penal Code.

In Southern Rhodesia, it would not have been humane, when the Chartered Company ruled the Colony, to apply a Western system of civil law to the African inhabitants. (It should here be emphasized that this article is not concerned with criminal law.) In the broadest terms, the policy of the Company and later of the state was that Roman-Dutch law, as modified from time to time by statute, should apply between Europeans and between Europeans and natives,* while native law and custom should obtain between natives 'unless repugnant to natural justice and morality'. There can be no doubt that this was right at the time. But of late years it has produced certain anomalies and this tendency will increase as more and more Africans abandon tribal life and come to live permanently in the towns.

This point was made to me when I was in Southern Rhodesia nearly four years ago, working on the history of the Colony, the growth of its institutions and their effect on race relations. I sought legal opinion and was advised that no one was better qualified to supply it than Mr. Advocate Chitepo. The opinion he gave me is an able, detailed and convincing piece of legal reasoning; I discussed it with high legal authority in Rhodesia and its legal soundness will not be disputed; it is comprehensive and I do not think any important class of case occurring at that time has been omitted. The opinion is couched in precise legal language and for the purpose of this article it will be convenient to arrange it differently and express it in rather more general terms, but what follows is in essence Mr. Chitepo's opinion of April 1956. Any comments of my own are made in square brackets. Amendments to the law which have been made since will be noted later.

* This is the form used in the Acts and is therefore retained in this article.

The High Court of Southern Rhodesia has full jurisdiction over all persons in the Colony.[1] The law of the Colony, which the High Court administers, is the law in force in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope on 10th June 1891, as modified by subsequent legislation. The most usual Courts of first instance are Magistrates' Courts, which administer this law, both civil and criminal, unless otherwise provided. The High Court however is also a Court of first instance, though it sits on appeals from Magistrates' Courts. There is no exception to the jurisdiction of the High Court, which extends over Europeans and Africans alike. But there is a very important exception to that of the Magistrates' Courts. A Native Commissioner has full jurisdiction to hear and determine all civil cases in which the rights of natives only are concerned, and in such cases the jurisdiction of Magistrates' Courts were in 1956 specifically excluded.[2] In practice, then, the civil jurisdiction of Magistrates was confined to Europeans.

An appeal lies from the Court of a Native Commissioner to the Native Appeal Court and thence there is a second appeal to the High Court, though it appears that there have not been more than ten such second appeals since 1925. There is also a Native Court, presided over by a Native Chief with two assessors;[3] from this there is no appeal, but a dissatisfied party may apply to the Native Commissioner for re-hearing and re-trial, whereupon the judgement of the Native Court becomes of no effect.

In 1956, it was the law that although a party to a suit in a Native Commissioner's Court might appear in person or be represented by attorney or counsel, no charge for the appearance of attorney or counsel might be allowed against the opposite party.[4] This provision not only operated directly as a discouragement to the employment of counsel in what would normally be the Court of first instance but also discouraged appeals. Further, though in theory anyone might bring a suit in the High Court in the first instance, the costs recoverable were unlikely to be greater than those that would have been recoverable in the appropriate lower Court and therefore, in a complicated case in which counsel were necessary, this remedy was in practice virtually closed to a native; whether for this reason or another, no cases between Africans had (so far as Mr. Chitepo was aware) ever been instituted direct in the High Court.

[This raises a point of general, not merely Rhodesian, application. There are five requirements in a system of law; it should be free from corruption; exact in its justice; swift, comprehensible and cheap. A layman may suspect that there is a universal difficulty in reconciling the first pair of needs with the rest; if the emphasis is placed on making justice exact and incorruptible, it will be neither swift nor cheap and in time will cease to be comprehensible. In England, the emphasis has lain on the first two; a corrupt judge is unthinkable and not many mistakes are made, but the law is neither swift nor easy to follow and is markedly expensive. Humble people, in the country certainly and probably in the towns, are in dread of the formal system; their needs

are usually met in minor disputes by the advice of a solicitor. In Rhodesia, the system of Native Commissioners' Courts provided originally a cheap and incorruptible form of justice and the provision about the costs of employing counsel was meant to avoid the multiplication of vexatious suits and giving an advantage to the rich. It was in 1956 probably still a useful provision in at least nine cases out of ten. In a complicated case, however, the help of counsel is thought in the world at large to be of value, and it is my own experience as a magistrate and in a junior land court in India that counsel can also be some insurance against unconscious bias; they can point out, if one is ready to listen, that there are assumptions one should not make. If, however, there are to be two ways of seeking justice, cheap and expensive—and in a country where there are widely different standards of sophistication I suggest that there is a good deal to be said for this—the choice between them should surely not be fixed by the race of the litigant. Nor would it be safe to leave the choice to the litigant, because a rich man might bring an expensive suit to harass a poor man. The question arises of whether the stage has not been reached at which Southern Rhodesia requires a system of legal aid.]

There are limitations on the civil jurisdiction of the Magistrates' Courts over Europeans, which are considerable, but may be briefly summarized. Actions in respect of liquid documents are limited to a maximum of £500; other actions to a maximum of £200. No action may be brought in respect of separation or dissolution of marriage; interpretation of a will; status of a person's mental capacity; or the enforcement of the specific performance of some contract or duty without the option of paying damages.[5] None of these restrictions applied, in 1956, to the Native Commissioners' Courts, which had in fact dealt with disputes involving sums in the region of £1,000. Disputes regarding such large sums will sometimes concern inheritance, which is to be decided in accordance with native law or custom, but sometimes—and one may expect increasingly—the sale of land or commercial transactions, both of which are to be decided in accordance with Roman-Dutch law.[6] The Native Commissioners are experts in native law but are certainly not in a better position than the Magistrates to decide questions of Roman-Dutch mercantile law; on what grounds could it be argued that a European's £200 suit should be reserved for the High Court, while a native's £1,000 suit should not?

In matrimonial cases, there is an important distinction to be made between on the one hand a Christian or civil marriage, into which natives may enter in the same way as Europeans and incur the same obligations, and on the other marriages by native law or custom. It may be argued that the latter are better dealt with in the Courts of Native Commissioners, who know the relevant law, though even here there is a counter-argument. It is a matter of public policy that marriage should be a binding contract not lightly to be entered into or lightly broken and this surely applies equally to all legal forms of union between man and woman of which there may be issue. If one is regarded as of

such importance that it should be reserved for the High Court, then surely another should be. This argument is stronger in the case of civil or Christian marriages; in principle, there can be no reason why the law should make a difference between the marriages of natives and Europeans when the marriage itself is of the same nature and carries the same obligations. But in practice there is the important consideration that divorce can be obtained from a Native Commissioner for a trifling sum, whereas in the High Court, if an attorney handles the matter, the minimum cost is £75. The advantage of cheapness is nullified, however, if the matter is complicated and an attorney employed, by inability to recover costs.

[To my mind, the point, as put, tends to overemphasize exactness at the expense of cheapness. Behind it, however, lies a point of great importance to race relations. The Christian looks on marriage as permanent and in this respect the state takes a view of marriage that may be called Christianity-and-water; there must be something deeply wounding to an African's pride in the idea that *his* marriage is of little account and can be dissolved lightly and easily while that of a European, solemnized by the same rites, must go before the highest authority. At present, this will apply to few Africans and perhaps most would still prefer cheapness. There is also the practical point to be borne in mind of whether the High Court could cope with more cases and whether a change would not involve setting up new Courts.]

The Native Law and Courts Act provides[7] that if native law and custom is inapplicable in a civil case between natives the case shall be determined in accordance with the law of the Colony (that is, of course, Roman-Dutch law as modified by statute). In accordance with this, the Courts have held in certain cases that native law and custom is non-existent and does not apply; in other cases, they have held that native custom should not be applied because it is repugnant to natural justice and morality.[8] To take the latter provision first, they have held, *inter alia*, that once a native woman is removed by marriage from the guardianship of her parents into that of her husband, on divorce or widowhood she does not automatically revert to her father's guardianship.[9] This was based on the view, which would not be taken today, that a woman's guardian, when he gives her in marriage, is doing something in the nature of selling her and though this may be tolerated once, it should not be tolerated twice. It is however a cardinal principle of native law that a woman has no *locus standi in judicio* and the status of a native widow who wishes to sue in a matter which falls to be settled under native law is therefore obscure. But the status of women is a point to which we shall return.

The more important matters regarding which the Native Appeal Court has held that native law does not apply or is non-existent are as follows:

(a) Disputes over mercantile transactions;[10]

(b) The right of a husband married by Christian or civil rites to

sue for damages for adultery in accordance with the law of the Colony;[11]

(c) The dissolution of a Christian or civil marriage, which can only be decreed on a ground that is known to the common law[12].

These cases mean in effect that a Christian or civil marriage between natives is governed by the principles of Roman-Dutch law, although certain provisions of native law or custom which are consistent with Christian marriage may remain in operation alongside it, for example, the disposition of property.

(d) The sale or transfer of rights in land:[13]

From these and other rulings, some obscurities and uncertainties have resulted. At native law, a girl cannot bring an action for her own seduction.[14] Such an action should be brought by her guardian on the basis of his loss because less lobolo (bride price) will be payable in respect of a girl who has been seduced. But the basis of such a suit in Roman-Dutch law is that a woman has been induced by her seducer to surrender her chastity; it is she who has been injured. In Natal, the Courts have ruled that a native girl may bring a suit for damages for her own seduction in accordance with Roman-Dutch law but in Southern Rhodesia even if she pleaded that all the necessary conditions under Roman-Dutch law were fulfilled, it is by no means certain that she would not be non-suited on the grounds that her case was covered by native law and that under that system she had no standing.

Here (the opinion continues) the Natal Courts have gone a stage further and ruled that all rights to security of person, property and reputation are now enforceable by the Courts, whether or not they were known to native law. This principle, in 1956, had sometimes been followed by Rhodesian Courts, but sometimes not. An action for assault had been allowed, although unknown to native law, while actions for breach of promise and for seduction by a girl have been rejected because unknown.

The Native Courts follow native law and custom as regards evidence and procedure; the Native Commissioners' Courts in practice usually follow the rules of evidence and the procedure of Magistrates' Courts. But the High Court has ruled that:

> 'The proceedings in native cases should not be hampered by formalities, provided the parties are not unduly prejudiced . . .'[16]

and the Native Appeal Court has held that the ordinary rules of pleading are not to be applied strictly to litigants in Native Courts, when they are not represented. The Court may go beyond the claim and deal with new claims raised in the course of the trial. But this may mean that the defendant has to answer a claim of which he had no notice and to answer which he has not brought evidence.

[Here again is the conflict between exactness and swift, cheap justice. The Court can in the first place allow time for evidence to be brought. If this is not allowed and the defendant is prejudiced in his case by

this procedure he can still appeal; it would surely be a mistake to remedy a rare case by making a rigid rule which in cases where counsel are not employed would seriously limit the Court's ability to reach a just decision.]

There are certain principles of evidence in native law which have been generally accepted by the Native Commissioner's Courts. In respect of the payments which passed between guardian and bridegroom before a marriage, the evidence of the *munyai*, or go-between, is normally accepted in native law as conclusive; the Courts have followed this principle.[17] This rule was good in a tribal setting, where the *munyai* held a special position in relation to both parties to the marriage and was known in their community. But in the 'shifting, impermanent and detribalized urban and farm-compound communities of today' the *munyai* may hardly know the parties and this special weight to his evidence may be quite inappropriate. Again, a confession of adultery made by a woman in labour carried special weight in native law; this too may be less conclusive in the circumstances of today, [not so much because of a different social setting as because old beliefs and customs are questioned and seem to have less validity in the towns.]

There is some uncertainty about the degree of proof needed to establish adultery or seduction. The normal civil law of evidence is that proof is by a preponderance of probability and the High Court in the Appellate Division has held that this applies to adultery as to any other civil claim.[18] But the Native Appeal Court has held that adultery or seduction must be proved beyond reasonable doubt,[19] and in other cases that the corroboration required must be of a very high order.[20] This means that a native, even though married by Christian rites, may fail to obtain damages in circumstances in which a European might well have obtained them.

In a community whose tribal morality is disintegrating, a rule which encourages immorality, by making it too difficult to prove it before a court of law, is surely undesirable. And it is doubtful whether, in respect of Christian marriages at least, the rulings are a correct interpretation of the law.

[Quaranic law required four male Muslim eyewitnesses to adultery, a condition that could hardly be fulfilled unless a trap had been deliberately laid; perhaps Native Commissioners have felt, with the Prophet, that false accusations of adultery or seduction are easy to make and difficult to prove or disprove. One may agree with them that in some societies a high degree of proof ought to be required and yet recognize that the situation as described in Southern Rhodesia involves either a slur on the sanctity of marriage between Africans, or the implication that evidence on oath between Africans is of a different order of validity from similar evidence between Europeans.]

The status of women in general has already been referred to. In native law, a woman can have no *locus standi* and is always under guardianship. Under Roman-Dutch law, marriage terminates minority and a women whose marriage has been terminated, or who is unmarried

and over 21, has a legal *locus standi* of her own. By the Legal Age of Majority Act, Cap. 26, all persons cease to be minors on attaining the age of 21. It can be argued that this Act applies to Africans, but the Native Appeal Court has held that a native unmarried woman cannot sue or be sued without her guardian's assistance.[21] But in a modern town a girl may incur or be owed debts and obligations while her legal guardian is far away.

The opinion concludes with the suggestion, put in general terms and expressed as a personal view, that there should eventually be one system of law for all people in Southern Rhodesia, and that the problem for public policy is the rate and method of arriving at this result. For example, polygamy obviously cannot be swept away at a stroke and in property and succession change must be gradual, but a beginning might be made by accepting the general principle that a native who marries by Christian rites will be bound in all respects by Roman-Dutch law. The general principle, that when native law does not apply, Roman-Dutch should, might be more widely and liberally used; it might also be accepted (as already suggested) as a general principle that rights to security of person or property which are enforceable under Roman-Dutch law should become enforceable even if not recognized in native law.

Here the opinion ends. In the year it was written, 1956, a Departmental Committee[22] was set up to inquire into this matter. As a result of its deliberations, certain changes have been made in the law. The jurisdiction of Native Commissioners' Courts has now been restricted in respect of the pecuniary value of the suits they may try to the same extent as that of Magistrates' Courts. Both kinds of Court are now limited to suits of the value of £200. The Court of a Native Commissioner may now make an order as to costs where counsel are employed, though the amended section leaves the matter to the discretion of the Court and there is as yet no tariff of taxable costs as there is for the Magistrates' Courts. The provision that Courts of Magistrates shall have no civil jurisdiction as between Africans has been repealed and they may now hear civil disputes between Africans where both parties consent. Finally, there is a new Court of Appeal for Native Civil Cases. The old Court consisted entirely of persons trained in the Native Commissioners' Courts; the President of the new Court will be a retired Judge or an advocate of standing; he will be helped by two other members of the Court who have been Native Commissioners.

I understand that rulings of this Court have already rectified two anomalies. The requirements of proof of adultery are now the same in Native Law and in Roman-Dutch. Secondly, African women who under Roman-Dutch law would have been freed from the tutelage of a guardian, for example by the death of a husband, have been allowed to sue without citing a guardian. No doubt other rulings will tend in the same direction.

A cautious step has thus been taken in the general direction which the opinion indicated. It is clearly a matter in which caution is necessary;

a high legal authority commented in 1956 on one aspect of it: 'I agree that the institution of polygamy cannot be swept away at this stage but whilst it exists it has an important bearing upon the whole field of the law of persons. It affects status, guardianship and custody of children, succession of property and has many other ramifications. So long as the institution exists, it must be a grave obstacle to the assimilation of the two systems of law.' Again, on the question of procedure in courts of law, no one who has observed with any imagination the working of British systems of law in India is likely to be impressed by arguments in favour of rigidity. But while the difficulties should not be underestimated, the problem is growing and the policy of the state should surely be to encourage every trend in the direction of unification. Some of the questions discussed here are becoming acute. A correspondent writes from Rhodesia in 1960: 'A particular example is the question of divorce after a civil law marriage. A point of great interest is the difference in attitude between the men and the women. The former naturally cling to their customary concept of polygamy, equally naturally the women look upon a civil marriage as giving them a security and a status that they do not possess under the native law.' Yet jurisdiction in regard to these marriages is still vested in the Courts of the Native Commissioners, who have only an elementary training in Roman-Dutch law and who are far more familiar with the concepts of native law. Here is an area in which the Courts are probably more conservative than the litigants. The number and extent of such areas will increase. It is bound to be an effect of the Native Land Husbandry Act to bring more and more Africans to the towns and hasten the process of detribalization; tribal law is therefore likely to become progressively less suitable for a growing number of people. This is happening all over Africa.

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THE MIND OF THE LITERATE AFRICAN ON THE COPPERBELT AS SEEN IN LETTERS TO LUNTANDANYA

REX HARRIS

What does the average literate black man think about in Central Africa today? What does he talk about? What does he write about? Has he an unrevealed literature of his own? Are his chief interests political? Has he a social conscience and what is his attitude towards women? How do the strong tribal laws of past centuries fit into the picture? Is he—above all is he—fanatically, unswervingly, single-mindedly, anti-white?

In taking on the editorship of an African newspaper three years ago I sought to find the answers.

The paper is called *Luntandanya*, the nearest Bemba equivalent of 'newspaper' in a language which for obvious reasons takes no account of the word 'paper',* and whose only word for 'news' is *ilyashi* (gossip). Literally, *Luntandanya* means 'the spreading of news'. The paper, sold fortnightly at a nominal cost of one penny per copy, primarily serves the thirty-six thousand people who live in the African townships of Rhokana Corporation, one of the great mining companies of Northern Rhodesia's Copperbelt, though there are gathering bands of readers as far afield as Nyasaland and Tanganyika.

When I took over *Luntandanya* in March 1957, it was a monthly publication and very much an organ for disseminating to the African the sort of matter the European thought he should read. There were no correspondence columns. Was this choice or necessity? It might be that the readers were incapable of, or disinterested in, submitting anything for publication. It was clear that if any of my questions were to be answered the first thing to do was to try to establish a free exchange of ideas. I asked my two African reporters to spread the word round that I wanted letters and articles from readers on every possible subject, written in English or in any one of the five main written languages that are used on the Copperbelt. I also gave the usual guarantee of secrecy in case readers wished to submit letters under *noms-de-plume*.

The first letter—an impassioned plea from an African Hygiene Assistant to readers not to block up the ventilation holes in their houses with old rags but to open them to let in light and air—arrived a few days later. The letter was written in English. Out of the total number of letters received to date, only five have not been written in English.

Within a month one of my questions at least was answered. Letters poured in. The average literate African in Central Africa *was* interested in expressing himself and he *was* capable of expressing himself, and no matter how clumsy the phraseology or how bad the spelling he wanted to express himself in English.

* A derivation from the English, *pepala*, has now emerged.

My next decision was to try to tap the spoken literature of the Central African tribes, a literature which if not recorded could be lost to posterity. I started a folk lore series, half believing that it would peter out in a few weeks. How mistaken an assumption this was I soon found out. I have to date published sixty folk lore stories and at least another hundred await publication. An interesting sidelight on these stories is that contributors often use the modern idiom to express what they mean. For example, in a debate between animals the hare—always the cleverest and most cunning—might well be referred to as 'Mr. Speaker Sir'. I consider these modern idioms a hopeful sign of life and progress.

Since those early days all my questions seem to have been answered. I say 'seem' because it may possibly be that the pattern of thinking that emerges from a study of the letters is not a true reflection of what the average literate African is thinking, and that he is perhaps either too shrewd or too frightened of being intimidated by African extremists to put his real thoughts down on paper. But assuming for the purposes of this article that they *are* a true reflection, then the sort of things that concern him in his day-to-day life on the Mines cannot but come as a revelation to the uninitiated. An examination of one hundred typical letters out of the thousands received to date reveals the following interesting trends. Out of the hundred, twenty-nine were about women, fifteen made complaints or requests to the Mine authorities, fifteen were on communal responsibilities, thirteen were on education, eleven on beerhalls, five on tribal customs, three on language, three on health and hygiene, two on politics and one each on trade unions, industrial advancement, religion and 'general' topics.

Taking the breakdown further, all the correspondence about women was written by men and consisted of advice, admonitions and scoldings of one kind or another—with the exception of one letter. It would appear that the average literate African male considers himself vastly superior to the average female, illiterate or literate. The illiterate ones are chided because they are dirty and ignorant; the literate ones because they are ambitious, money-conscious and flirtatious. As there were no letters from women one must conclude that either they are disinterested or it will be a very long time before the African female is allowed to challenge the male in any way whatsoever—a repeat of European history. Here are some random extracts.

> . . . Women, you all know that a man is a boy that has just grown up which needs your attention, smiling, and the sort. A lot of women worry whether they are happy or not. The easiest way is to make your man happy for a happy man makes a good husband. Specialise yourselves in making your husband happy and you will graduate in high circles with more flowers during your life and at death than are given many a so-called career woman. Praise him in company that no one is as sweet and special a man than him. Don't nag him to make money continually. Fill him with confidence and make him feel somebody. How do you know he may not be rich some day? Don't gripe because your husband does not make money and yet you

see that your poor guy is ill equipped as possible to go out daily to face life so don't nag him until he can't think straight. If you do this you are destroying his self confidence by making him a fool in public. You are making him half dead. Next time he is sure to be on the hunt for a woman to suit him and then you wonder why. A man's self confidence is intimately tied up with women. If he is a hit with the ladies it makes him feel like a great guy and so he is a man . . .

. . . Here are some of my views on the girl I would like to marry. The girl must be sensible, beautiful and moderately romantic. She should attend to her religious duties and be a member of one of the Girls' Christian Societies. She should have a fair complexion, possess an abundant head of hair, and a fine, complete set of teeth. She should be a slim girl, well washed, and of an attractive gait. She should be a girl of even temperament, hospitable, cheerful and a lover of music. She must be respectful to both young and old and to her social inferiors. I would like her to be easily satisfied, not talkative and able to appreciate little things. She should know how to dress but not be enamoured of her own good looks. She should not be a gadding woman whose eyes rove with boldness on men's faces. If possible she should teach for at least two years in a school, or she should attend a course. The girl I want to marry must want to marry me not for money or luxury but for me . . .

. . . Gentlemen we are now in the 59th year of the Twentieth Century When will we learn to help our wives in the home? When it is lunch or dinner time you sit on a nice chair. Your food is served at the table on nice plates but your wife sits on the floor in the kitchen with the children. Now, it is Sunday. A man and his wife go to Church. She walks fifty yards in front or behind her husband with a baby on her back, another on her shoulders and another held by the arm. Is it her fault that she has children? They belong to both of you . . .

Most of the complaints and requests to the Mine authorities are of a reasonable nature, generally constructive and helpful. For the most part they are concerned with such things as street lights, footbridges and other amenities but occasionally a letter is received dealing with work. Here is a quotation from a reader who cannot understand the distinction between monthly-paid and daily-paid workers. He is scarcely literate but thanks to *Luntandanya* he has an outlet for his grievance:

. . . You company, you are a parent of a big family and you should not give your children differently. Look what you have done to some people gets money on every 30th of each month others do not. Does it mean you company as parent, do you love all your children? No, you love some and some not. Why is this so? Why you Companys? Thank you . . .

Education looms large in the lives of Africans, not just those of school-going age but also old-timers with up to twenty years' service with the Mines who started work as illiterates. The cry all the time is for more education, not only for men but also for women:

. . . I do not know how to express my gratitude for what the Company has done. Firstly I thank the Company for introducing the Adult Education School and I thank my fellow Africans who have enrolled with the school. Some people say they cannot attend night school because they are grown up. I think it is because they have no brains. We must always look to the future. Most of us joined the Company as uneducated men. We did not know how to speak English or even to write. But now we can do all this thanks to the Adult Education School. I pray to God to bless the Company for the good work it is doing . . .

. . . If you become reasonably literate you will develop an interest not only in libraries but in Adult Education as well. You will see how useful are these facilities. You will realise that you can get pleasure from other things than drinking beer; things such as the Cinema, Schools, Library, Sports and other social activities . . .

Many letters are received on communal responsibilities, showing the desire of the average literate African to improve the social standards in the townships and to share his knowledge with others:

. . . I have seen with my own naked eyes people spitting in buses as if they are rubbish pits. Often they do it when the conductor's back is turned. Stop this habit at once, you dirty people . . .

The trend of letters about tribal customs is that they should be dispensed with as soon as possible, though there are some which take the cautious, and perhaps even fearful, view that some customs, for the good of the African people, should not be lost in the confusion of change.

. . . In this modern world tribalism has outlived its purpose. It only causes misunderstanding. We no longer live in isolation and anyway, urbanisation of the African is fast undermining tribal life. Races which advanced centuries before us are now nations. This standard must be set up throughout. Only co-operation among the tribes will help us to eliminate this detriment and it is only then that we can advance as a united people . . .

Contributors are quick to recognize the necessity for learning English as a means of better understanding between all races, and between the various tribes who speak between them here at Nkana something like thirty different vernaculars:

. . . It is good to learn English. If you are a Bemba you may not understand what a Tonga is talking about and a Tonga may not know what a Lozi is talking about. If we all learn English we can talk to white people and also to one another . . .

Only a small proportion of letters are about politics:

. . . Do blacks hate whites? The answer is Yes. It is said in the Bible that you must love your neighbour as yourself. When whites start doing that I will stop hating them . . .

. . . Why do people mistrust the British Government which has been ruling us for so many years? I have often wondered what my fellow

Africans mean when they speak of self-government in Northern Rhodesia. They do not think what life was like here before the British came. It is not right to believe that which we are told about life before the British. There is no slavery now. We are not slaves to any race but protected people by the British. Our forefathers suffered under Arab slave traders. Please do not print my name as bad people may attack my family . . .

A trade unionist writes:

. . . I am a trade unionist. A trade union is formed of men who do the same kind of work and the purpose of a union is to help members to improve their position as wage earners . . .

The few letters received on the subject of industrial advancement show a sensible approach:

. . . I greet all members of *Luntandanya* staff. I am a young boy of about eighteen years old. I started working under an electrician in 1954 until 1958 when I was out of employment. But you would be surprised if you saw me at work. Previously there were no Africans who could this job. But I know it thoroughly well and all this is due to my perseverance. Don't therefore forget to put your heart into your work and master it . . .

Letters on religion show a broad approach and do not preach the truth of any one creed over another:

. . . There are some people who believe that there is no God. They have been told this by their parents. This is very wrong. If you see a motor car moving you realise that there is somebody driving it. If so, who made you and your parents? It was God, the creator . . .

Contributions on every kind of subject, and even poems, have been received. Here is an example:

"As if in sorrow, the smoke stacks, every issuing out tears,
Making our air filthy and so black;
A visitor wonders how townsmen,
Bear this air!

Old and young, beautiful and ugly;
White and black, big and small;
Contented, satisfied or hungry;
Fair, slim, short or tall.

Come pay tribute to the man-made Hole!
Let us give this man-made hole a name!
At Nkana/Kitwe it is called the Central Shaft;
The Central Shaft has brought many to glory and fame.
Her younger sister is South Ore Body shaft.
Daughters and sons of Nkana
You smartly dressed fellow on your push bike
You successful shopkeeper on your desk:
You beautiful lady in that dress you best like:
You cheerful beer drinker whose name is Mike
But do you realise that we owe all these pleasures
To the existence of the man-made Hole?"

From a study of typical letters it would seem that the average literate African here wants nothing more than to be a decent, law-abiding citizen, ignoring sedition and bloodshed as a solution to his problems and concerning himself almost entirely with domestic issues. He seems satisfied to take the more intelligent European as his model, making it appear that he has absorbed more of the Western way of life than he is often given credit for. Among the letters not quoted for instance were several advocating monogamy in marriage, as opposed to tribal polygamy, and while it is true that letters on religion are few and do not preach one sect above another, it is also true that most letters have a religious tone generally and two out of three point a moral.

On the basis of *Luntandanya* contributors therefore, the average literate African emerges as a responsible person with a strongly developed social conscience moulded on Western lines. Politics and trade unions, the two things highlighted in the overseas press as being of consuming interest to him, would appear to affect him very little. Letters occasionally appear which clearly show that intimidation is stopping the expression of a free opinion and I have today received one from a man who has openly declared his name, pleading for all men of moderate viewpoint to band together against extremism. If intimidation and extremism can be kept at bay then the indications are that the violence which people fear will burn away through lack of support. If these letters are any guide then it is certain that as the literates grow in numbers, violence is going to become a harder gospel to preach.

SOME GREEK STEREOTYPES OF OTHER PEOPLES

DONALD WOOD

The story of the past must often be revised. Each generation has new questions stemming from its own besetting problems to ask of history. Historians must be prepared to alter the whole balance of their studies, to pick up the stick, as it were, from the other end, and to look at familiar evidence with a new sensitivity. During the post-war years it has become clear that a main and urgent problem is that of the relations between races. This already sounds a platitude. Yet fifty years ago, perhaps only thirty years ago, it would hardly have seemed a priority of the century. Within a lifetime European colonial empires have collapsed, the seemingly unassailable white material and administrative superiority has begun to vanish, and coloured people everywhere are demanding a place in the sun.

Anthropology, psychology and sociology do much to explain some of the tensions caused by this revolution in the affairs of men. The historian, armed with some of the insights of these disciplines and conscious of 'the winds of change', must discover some of the past moves which have led to the present exciting state of the game. Much valuable research has already been carried out on the expansion of Europe overseas and on the growth of modern multi-racial societies. But comparatively little is known about the changing attitudes towards other races in the past. We are ignorant of the part played by the 'stereotypes' of other peoples, those national aversions or attractions which seem part of human nature.

The discovery of how stereotypes have been built up is difficult enough in a modern society where the investigator can see certain habits of mind for himself. It is doubly difficult in the past. Many sources have been lost with the passing of time. Earlier generations often did not ask themselves the questions in which the present is interested. Stereotypes may be the general assumptions of society, the commonplace categories of the mind, that no one bothers to record. Works which do bring out these prejudices, such as the *Religio Medici* of Sir Thomas Browne (1642) or *The True-born Englishman* of Daniel Defoe (1701) are rare. One must turn to more general sources to see if they shed any new and fleeting light on the dilemmas of today.

Ethnography began in ancient Greece and here one can see the beginning of some of the ideas that had a significant influence on later European thought. This paper is a superficial attempt, by a writer foraging in an unknown territory, to pick out some attitudes towards remote peoples in the writings of those Greek geographers and historians who concerned themselves with ethnography.

Yet a word of warning is necessary. There is very often an uneasy ambivalence in attitudes towards other races. Although the Greek stereotypes of remote peoples are strikingly favourable to them, there

existed at the same time among the Greeks a contempt for the stranger and his alien ways. Many of the barbarians whom the ordinary Greeks did meet—the Phrygians from Asia Minor, for example—were considered to be uncivilized boors. And the opinions of Athenians about Spartans or Macedonians were at least as unflattering as those held at different times by the English about the Scots, Irish or Welsh. The Boeotians, who produced men as distinguished as Epaminondas, Hesiod and Pindar, were, nevertheless, proverbially considered by other Greeks to be as dull as their native air and only fit for war.

The majority of Greeks rarely met the people who are discussed here. They lived over the horizon where fancy mingled with fact. If they had been more accessible the stereotypes might well have been different.

It is important here to consider the earliest world picture of the Greeks which they received from Persian and Babylonian sources. This is the geographical framework of the Odyssey and there are hints of it in the Old Testament. The world was thought to be a flat disc surrounded by the great river Oceanus. In the centre of this disc was the familiar region of the Aegean and Asia Minor and the Middle Sea. One of the outlets to the encircling ocean was through the Straits of Gibraltar. Towards the edges of the world lived four main peoples. In the north were the Scythians, in the south were the Ethiopians, in the east the Indians and in the west the Celts or Iberians.[1]

Even after the Greeks realized that the world was a globe, the idea of these archetypal peoples at the four quarters of the one great, inhabited land mass lingered on.[2] Scattered among these four peoples, who were considered to be ordinary human beings, were races of monstrous people. Many Greek writers accepted uncritically far-fetched stories of men with eyes in their chest or with great ears that could be used as blankets. Dog-headed men—to take only one example—appeared in the descriptions of India by Ktesias and Megasthenes and they survive for centuries in ethnographical writings. Although Strabo, the greatest of Greek descriptive geographers, is highly sceptical of their existence, they are described along with many other grotesque peoples by the Latin writer, Pliny, who was one of the main sources of Greek geography for the Middle Ages.[3] Through the encyclopaedists, Isadore of Seville and Vincent of Beauvais, Pliny's fables pass into the general geographical lore of the Middle Ages. Strabo himself was hardly known. He wrote in Greek and was badly mauled by commentators until his *Geography* became well known in the late fifteenth century.[4]

But for most Greek writers—poets as well as geographers—marvels and fact existed side by side without any sense of incongruity and it is little wonder that stereotyped observations about the nature of distant peoples were accepted quite easily. These accounts follow a set pattern which scarcely alters from the time of Homer to Strabo, although much more was known about these peoples during the first century A.D. when Strabo wrote.

Homer had a great reputation not only among poets but also among some geographers, and Hipparchus and Strabo considered him to be the founder of their science.[5] Although some of his ideas on the exact location of places became unfashionable, no Greek writer questioned his views of the virtuous nature of the blameless Ethiopians and the milk-drinking Scythians, the most just of men.[6] These became part of the general stock-in-trade of geographers and a fixed literary convention in the works of poets such as Hesiod, Euripides and Aeschylus. It became a firm article of Greek faith that complete justice and holiness were only to be found among remote barbarian peoples.[7] It was as if there were still some enclaves of the Golden Age at the ends of the world. This is the beginning of the long-lived European tendency to idealize faraway peoples.

Ethiopians or Negroes had been known in the Mediterranean region since Minoan times. Pendants shaped like Negro heads have been dug up at Knossos and Negro auxiliaries fought for Minoan lords.[8] During the sixth century B.C. ointment vases depicting Negroes first appear on the Greek mainland and later there are often Negro figures on vases and drinking cups. There are also recognizable negroid heads on coins from Phoci, Delphi, Lesbos and Athens.[9] Ethiopians armed with long bows and spears tipped with the horns of gazelles were in the army of Xerxes.[10] And the hero Memnon who was killed by Achilles was an Ethiopian.

Although Homer is not explicit as to the home of the Ethiopians, all later writers agree that they lived south of the Egyptians on the boundaries of the world. Herodotus adds something to the stereotype of the blameless Ethiopians. According to him some Ethiopians were the tallest and most handsome men alive.[11] Others, who were cave-dwellers, ran faster than any other people[12]. An essential ingredient in the idealization of remote peoples is that they should live to a great age. One group of Ethiopians who lived frugally on boiled meat and milk lived to 120 years and more.[13] Yet some reaction can be seen in Pliny to the general praise. In a list of monstrous people he puts the Atlantes, a group of Ethiopians who have bestial habits and do not dream.[14]

The customs of the Scythians were better known to the Greeks than those of the Ethiopians. They were the inhabitants of the mid-Eurasian steppes, from the Pamirs and the Altai to the Black Sea.[15] Although it is probable that the Eastern and Western Scythians were of different racial stock, they shared a similar way of life. In the main they were nomads whose wanderings were dictated by the need for pasture, but by the fifth century B.C. there were settled agricultural communities which may have served as bases for the nomadic sections of the tribes.[16] The Greeks met them in their settlements along the northern shores of the Black Sea because the black-earth southern steppes were one of the granaries of Greece. Herodotus visited one of these towns, Olbia, on the joint mouths of the Bug and Dniester, which depended for its prosperity on trade with the Scythians controlling the steppes of

the Don and Dnieper regions. He devotes a book of his *History* to a description of these people and much of what he says has been confirmed by modern archaeological evidence. Scythia also played its part in Greek legends. The land of the rising sun, the Aeaea of Odysseus, was in Scythia, on the eastern shores of the Black Sea, and there too Jason sought the Golden Fleece.[17]

Herodotus believed that the Kings of Scythia were descended from Scythes, the son of Hercules, and this gave them an affinity with the Greeks.[18] Ephorus describes their virtues. They are frugal in their way of life, just towards each other, and they do not hoard wealth. They possess everything in common including their women and children. He does admit however, in the fourth book of his *History*, that some Scythians are said to be cannibals and cruel, but he would rather talk about those Scythians who are praised by the poets.[19] And Strabo sums up the stereotype of the Scythians. The Greeks believe them to be the most sincere and least deceitful of any people and far more abstemious and self-reliant than themselves. Yet in his time he feared that the Greeks were corrupting the Scythians and other barbarians as Greek habits spread among them. [20] This is reminiscent of Christian moralists, such as the Jesuit Le Comte in the eighteenth century, who contrasted pagan morality with Christian sinfulness.

But the country which was the most wonderful of any was India. Here the climate was so soothing and mild that animals were larger than anywhere else and the soil more fertile. The Indians too were the most numerous people in the world.[21] According to Hippocrates the inhabitants were more gentle and affectionate than people in Europe.[22]

Before Alexander reached northern India the country was only known at second hand through Persian sources. These were used in the first treatise to be devoted entirely to India, by Ktesias, a contemporary of Hippocrates, which is only preserved in the writings of others. The *Indiki* was full of tall stories of monstrous peoples, some of whom were just, long-lived and milk-drinkers.[23] The ordinary Indians were noted for their devotion to their King, their contempt of death and their sense of justice. They did not suffer from headache, toothache or ophthalmia and some of them lived to 120 and 150 years.[24] In the middle of India were pygmies who were snub-nosed and ugly and eminently just. These Indian pygmies seem to be a Greek invention. Other pygmies were believed from the time of Homer onwards to live among the Ethiopians on the southern edge of the world, and each spring they were engaged in warfare against cranes.

Strabo however did not believe in pygmies and was sceptical of many other marvels of India.[25] The men who wrote about India were, in his opinion, a pack of liars. Yet he did agree with Onescritus, who praised the frugal living, good health and longevity of the Indians, and he followed the general high opinion of their good government and virtues. He was impressed, as were many sixteenth century travellers, with the caste system and the philosophy of the Brahmins.

The people who lived on the western edges of the world were hardly

discussed by the Greeks. Herodotus admitted that he knew little about them. Poseidonius describes their customs briefly in the twenty-third book of his *History*. Strabo, however, was able to write about these western barbarians because he could draw on Roman sources such as Caesar's accounts of his campaign in Gaul. It was a Roman, however, and not a Greek who applied the clichés of these ancient stereotypes to the western people. Tacitus sowed the seeds of nineteenth and twentieth-century nordicism in his eulogy of the Germans as virtuous, freedom-loving, jealous of their racial purity, and tough.[27] But it is often forgotten that he also considered them to be savage and cruel.

There is little feeling among the Greek ethnographical writers that they are in some way superior to the people they describe. Whereas writers in the Christian era tended to draw conclusions about the habits of other people, this is altogether absent among the Greeks. Customs such as cannibalism and lice-eating, which presumably would be repugnant to a Greek, are reported without any overtones of censure. Nor is the cry of idolatry or heathenism raised. The Greeks with their pantheon of gods were not as exclusive as the Jews or Christians about religion. They knew that some of their gods, perhaps under different names, were venerated by other people and they were willing to respect, if not worship, them.[28] Some of the Scythians worshipped Greek gods and there was a tradition that the Ethiopians were the founders of religion.[29]

The Greek attitude towards Egypt was entirely respectful because of the richness and antiquity of Egyptian culture. Herodotus, who devotes the second book of his *History* to a eulogistic study of Egypt, realizes that some elements in Greek religion were drawn from Egypt. He also wonders whether the Egyptians or the Ethiopians were the first to practise the rite of circumcision.[30] It is typical of this tolerant Greek attitude to religion that Herodotus considered that the most certain sign of the madness of Cambyses was his scorn of the religious practices of other nations.[31]

This is perhaps the most fundamental distinction between the attitude of the Greeks and the travel writers of the Age of Discovery. In the sixteenth century the superiority of Christianity is always assumed—even when pagan morals are made out to be more noble than those of Europeans and, as it were, more Christian.

There is yet another important contrast between Greek and some later European ideas of race. Both Greeks and barbarians worked as slaves in the city states. Their lot was considered to be their individual misfortune rather than a predestined status due to race or religion. Aristotle's theory that some men are by nature servile and others are by nature free was not worked out in detail by him; but he does say in the *Nicomachean Ethics* that his idea of the slave did not imply an inferiority due to race.[32] He formed several conceptions of the natural slave and this caused much confusion when his doctrine became the

intellectual centre of the great debates, begun at Valladolid in 1550, on whether the American Indians could justly be enslaved.

The ancient ethnographers were more liberal than Aristotle and there is no suggestion of the doctrine of natural slavery in their writings. Slavery was taken for granted in the ancient world, where it was an unquestioned part of both barbarian and Greek society.

Yet in spite of the new outlook brought by Christianity to ethnography and the fundamental revaluation of the nature of slavery caused by European settlement in the Americas, many Greek ideas about strange peoples gained new leases of life in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Not only were they known to some extent through medieval writers, but there was a general access to the Greek works themselves through the labours of humanist scholars in Western Europe. A Latin version of Herodotus was made as early as 1450, and after Strabo was first printed in Rome in 1470 the ideas of many Greek geographers, preserved in his writings, became widely known. Renaissance geographers lived in an atmosphere that was strongly permeated by the classics, and both explorer and scholar tended to treat the discoveries of the time within a classical framework.

People even believed that they would at any moment discover the monstrous people who had become more grotesque and fanciful during the Middle Ages. Columbus inquired after the monsters to be found in Hispaniola when he landed there in 1493. Ferdinand Cortez was ordered to look for dog-headed men in Central America.[33] And the Amazons, a tribe of warrior women who were reported to live in Scythia, turn up in Sumatra and in Brazil, where the largest river in South America was named after them.

The ancient clichés are applied to new people in new places. Climates ideal for health, where the inhabitants lived far longer than Europeans, were to be found, according to various writers, in Brazil, India, Japan, China, Canada and the Moluccas.[34] Everywhere travellers reported finding simple and virtuous peoples, who held their goods in common. It seemed as if the Golden Age of the ancients was no myth. And perhaps the stories of the exceedingly wise, naked sage of Nicaragua originated in a memory of Anacharis the Scythian, who caused a stir among philosophers when he visited Athens because of his wisdom and eloquence.

The accounts of fabulous India were confirmed by merchants and missionaries and a European image of the wealth and marvels of India was formed which has yet scarcely faded from memory.[35] Nobility of character and good government were found throughout Asia. At one time they were in Siam, at another time in Persia or Japan. By the end of the sixteenth century too the image of the Chinese sage was firmly established in the European imagination.

But the favourable stereotype of people who were far less advanced in culture than Europeans, Indians or Chinese was soon challenged. With the idealization of the primitive life, which reached its climax in the sentimental cult of the noble savage in the eighteenth century, went

an irreconcilable loathing of the brutal and savage existence of some primitive peoples. These two contrasting views began a conflict about the way primitive people had to be treated, which was never satisfactorily resolved. Cannibalism and head-hunting, for example, which were described without emotion by the ancients, were bitterly condemned when they were rediscovered in the New World and in South-East Asia. Europeans see a dark side to the tradition of primitive innocence.

It seems likely that when Europeans were confronted with these radically different images of life among less advanced peoples one of the seeds of modern race prejudice was sown. Their attitudes towards other races were never constant afterwards. To study the interplay of these contrasting attitudes and the effects that they had on the actions of men would be a rewarding task in the great reassessment of race relations that is taking place today.

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RACE RELATIONS AT THE FOURTH WORLD CONGRESS OF SOCIOLOGY

SHEILA PATTERSON

The Fourth World Congress of Sociology was held in September 1959 under the auspices of UNESCO. Conferences are usually held in pleasant places, but Stresa in September afforded a venue of an almost irritatingly flawless beauty.

The Race Relations section convened in a cool shady room in the Hotel Villa Carlotte. The atmosphere was one of complete racial, ethnic and even linguistic accord (the English-speaking majority enforced uniformity), but was enlivened by some amicable academic sparring on the nature of race, ethnic and colour relations.

The Chairman, Professor E. Franklin Frazier of Howard University, opened the session with a critical appreciation of the main points of the papers presented, and a brief analysis of the present state of sociological knowledge concerning race relations.

He cited Robert E. Park's definition of race relations in the United States as the clearest early formulation of the sociological approach to race relations:

> 'Race relations . . . are relations existing between peoples distinguished by marks of racial descent, particularly when these racial differences enter into the consciousness of the individuals and groups so distinguished, and by so doing determine in each case the individual's conception of himself as well as his status in the community.'

Professor Frazier pointed out however that this formulation failed to take into account the ecological, economic and political aspects of race relations, and that Park's further definition of race relations as 'relations which are not now conscious and personal' but 'are fixed in and enforced by custom, convention and the routine of an expected social order' omitted the dynamic aspects of race relations. It would therefore be inadequate in such situations as the present British race relations scene.

Professor Frazier reviewed a large range of more recent work which showed a more inclusive approach to race relations and mentioned the large field that was now opening up in Africa for further study, particularly in the newly-independent territories. He made a plea for clarification of the proper scope of race relations studies, and added a statement which provoked considerable discussion later in the session:

> 'Then I would add that in the sociological approach to the study of race relations, there is still a need to determine whether one can include the contacts, for example, of Chinese and Malays within the category of race relations. I would go so far as to say that some recent attempts to include racial and religious groups in the single category of minorities only introduces confusion in the study of race relations.'

The Chairman's paper concluded with an assessment of the utility and validity of certain approaches to the study of race relations. He rejected the social-psychological approach as too narrow in that it fails to reveal the economic, political and other cultural and institutional factors which are determinants in race relations, particularly in the dynamic situations of the modern world.

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The discussions that followed were to some extent inhibited by an organizational failure to supply all members of the group with a complete set of papers. As there was insufficient time for all the papers to be read aloud, discussions tended to centre on a few areas and certain theoretical problems.

The first day was mainly taken up with the contrasting race relations situations in Britain and the United States. Three papers by British contributors on West Indian migration in Britain and one paper comparing the two areas by an American contributor illustrated not only the differing situations but considerable differences of sociological approach. The latter differences may have been conditioned by the relatively static U.S. scene and the highly fluid British one.

A number of interesting points were made by speakers. Professor Ira D. Reid spoke of the ' colour shock ' experienced by people who suddenly found a large group of coloured immigrants in their midst for the first time. Professor H. Blumer stressed the present importance of public discussion via modern mass media in conditioning or crystallizing the concepts which groups form about each other and the way in which they define themselves. Another speaker suggested that the British population at home and in the colonies are in the process of adapting themselves to the new situation in the Commonwealth, and that this process is at times difficult and likely to evoke resentments which may be directed at the coloured migrant.

Dr. Maurice Freedman's paper on 'The Growth of a Plural Society in Malaya' and a brief exposé by Professor Jaspain of ethnic relations in Indonesia were then considered. Thereafter considerable and inconclusive discussion developed as to whether such situations could be classified as falling within the field of race relations. Two extreme viewpoints emerged. On the one side it was argued that a racial situation existed wherever there was a consciousness, justified or not, of biological differences, and of superiority on the part of the dominant group. An ethnic situation was said to exist where there was no consciousness of superiority. On the other side it was suggested that there was little to be gained by speaking of ethnic problems as distinct from racial problems, and that consciousness of racial differences could be associated with good race relations as well as with conflicts.

One of the final speakers at the session pointed out that Park's definition had plagued race relations students ever since. It embodied a confusion between two concepts, that of racial descent and that of a

consciousness of racial differences; these confusions had compelled Park to use the word 'racial' to define the term 'race'. The day's session ended without any final agreement on the proper scope and definition of race relations.

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For the second day, group members had been asked to consider Professor Leo Kuper's clear and stimulating paper on 'The Heightening of Racial Tension', illustrated by material on apartheid legislation in South Africa. Unfortunately the lack of sufficient copies made it impossible for most members to do their homework, and the proceedings started with a number of short analyses of local situations in East Africa, Ghana and South East Asia.

The discussion then returned to theoretical problems, and the proceedings were summed up by the rapporteur, Dr. Kenneth Little. He regretted that there had been little discussion of the main theme of Professor Kuper's paper, the analysis of techniques for heightening race consciousness and racial tensions, which might suggest a new approach to some of the problems connected with the reduction of racial tensions.

Dr. Little agreed that there was some confusion as to the meaning of 'race relations', but despite the diffidence shown by some sociologists in using the term 'race', felt that it was now common parlance and difficult to throw out. Some speakers had drawn attention to the fact that the sociology of race relations was comparable to that of, for instance, social class and he felt that the present discussions had to some extent been bemused by the 'welfare' aspect, and by confusions between ethnic and racial situations. Perhaps these distinctions should be dropped and the problem viewed more pragmatically, according to the distribution of wealth, power and so on.

The rapporteur concluded on a hopeful note, that the sociology of race relations would progress as sociology in general progressed, through the study of structures to the study of situations and less in terms of the relations between groups than of the ways in which various social factors affect these relations.

BOOK REVIEWS

COMMON SENSE ABOUT AFRICA

By ANTHONY SAMPSON

London, Victor Gollancz, 1960. 175 pp. 12s. 6d.

Emerson once defined common sense as being 'the shortest line between two points'. If that be true then this compact, informative and very well written little book is aptly titled—for it helps to fill the wide gap between great works of reference, such as Hailey's monumental *African Survey*, and the increasing spate of popularly written, highly-coloured and often inaccurate articles in the press.

Indeed, it is not only knowledge about Africa in readily assimilable form that has been wanting up till now but also understanding. For the truth is that Africa is so vast and varied that even the expert who knows everything worth knowing about the West Coast or who has lived in East Africa all his life but has no direct experience of other regions and other peoples can be wildly wrong about them. What has long been needed, therefore, is for someone to bring within the compass of a single book a simple, factual description of this fascinating, changing and perplexing continent, combined with an honest assessment of the forces which are shaping its destiny.

Mr. Sampson almost fulfils the requirement. However, his observations are limited to Africa south of the Sahara, reference to the Sudan, Ethiopia and the Somalilands is omitted and Madagascar is missed off the map altogether. Not that we should complain about this since the subject is so vast that something had to be left out and it must be conceded that nothing vital to *understanding* the problems of Africa is really missed.

At the outset Africa is put in correct perspective. Its importance has grown and will grow, its many physical disabilities may be overcome by modern methods, but compared with North America and Europe its wealth and importance bear little relationship to its size. 'It is a giant, but a flabby giant, with only a few muscles and sinews.'

But the giant's pulse is now quickening and Mr. Sampson's account of the rise of African nationalism, the clash with the white settler communities, and the psychological, political and economic problems involved, is written crisply but with restraint and feeling. Particularly valuable is the description of what Kwame Nkrumah calls 'the African personality', the feverish search for identity and status and an 'African way of doing things'.

While the author, as befits a former editor of *Drum*, writes throughout with an underlying sympathy for the African as opposed to the European viewpoint, he avoids falling into the trap of drawing too many conclusions. Africa is changing too fast for any of us to be certain about its future. One can only hope that it is still not too late to find a formula

which makes it possible to reconcile the aspirations of *black* Africans with the need to retain the skills and capital of *white* Africans—for the fulfilment of the first depends in large measure upon the retention of the second.

BERNARD BRAINE

WAYALESHI

By PETER FRAENKEL

London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1959. 224 pp. 21s.

This is a very good book indeed, which will stand by Anthony Sampson's *Drum* as a picture of the new Africa of today. It describes how the author joined the wireless station at Lusaka in Northern Rhodesia and came to know something of the African broadcasters and translators and the audiences to whom they tried to bring tales, music, plays and news. Wayaleshi is a local corruption of the word 'wireless'.

Like *Drum*, it is never sentimental. It does not minimize differences, it does not pretend that Africans are something they are not, nor does the author want to make them into something different; he is content to record them as they are. The writer remembers from childhood what it was like to be the under dog in Hitler's Germany; his book is written with a deep compassion for the under dog in Africa. Yet he agrees with Lord Malvern that it is irresponsible to put the vote in the hands of 'people who seek solutions to their problems by studying the entrails of a goat'. He does not conceal the cruelty with which African tales—and no doubt lives—are full, nor the extent to which they are ruled by a deep and poisoning suspicion. He is revealing about the difficulties which the most sympathetic may find in sharing ideas; he and his English colleagues found that the African broadcasters would meet a point in argument with a story about a hare, a lion and a tortoise that would convulse other Africans with laughter and to which the Europeans simply could not see the point, sometimes even when it was explained to them slowly and patiently, as though to children. Yet there was a great deal that could be shared and he brings out admirably the infectious delight in mimicry that seems to belong to all the people of the continent, their huge enjoyment of charades, the zest with which they broadcast plays in which everyone improvises their lines. He heard something of what the Northern Rhodesians thought of their rulers:—

' "Yes. Restless, it is true. Never satisfied, always stirring up things. Do you ever see one of them just sitting in the shade and breathing air? Ah, these Europeans." He shook his head as with an amusing but somewhat exasperating child.' And again: ' "Why do you want to go to England for your leave? It is all desert.'

"Whatever gives you that idea?"

"Well, if their country was fertile would they come to take ours?" '

If anyone has any doubts about the dislike of the Northern Rhodesians

for Federation he should read this book; the staff of the Lusaka broadcasting station, who had thought with good reason that they were popular throughout the country, were accused of being vampires; why else should they read out announcements in praise of Federation? And nowhere else have I seen so succinct a comment on the important state paper produced in 1951 by senior officials who found that the difference in Native policy between the two Rhodesias was after all very slight. A man from Southern Rhodesia said to the author:

> 'Here in the North if I go to the district commissioner he gives me a chair and says "How can I help you?" but in Southern Rhodesia the native commissioner makes you squat on the floor and address him as *mambo* just as if he was a chief. And he hasn't even got a university degree like the D.C.s here.'

This book should be compulsory reading for anyone who is going to the Rhodesias or Nyasaland. It is warm, human, vivid, admirable on the breaking up of the old ways and the contrast with the new life of the towns and conveying—as no other book I have read except *Drum* can do—the sense of Africanism. It is the incidents and characters which build up the picture; but if it is to be summed up in a sentence, I would choose:

> 'I could feel all around me that immense, resilient mass, humorous and vigorous, boastful yet also frightened and insecure, generous to a fault, yet also cruel . . . changing all the time, learning in a thousand ways to adapt themselves to the new surroundings of the town.'

PHILIP MASON

OLD AFRICA REDISCOVERED

By BASIL DAVIDSON

London, Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1959. 268 pp. 25s.

The purpose of Mr. Basil Davidson's book is set out in a note at the beginning:

> 'This book is about Africa and Africans, south of the Sahara Desert, during the fifteen hundred years or so before the colonial period began.
>
> Its aim is to present what is now known, and what it now seems reasonable to believe, about some leading aspects and achievements of African life and civilisation during that time; and thus to contribute to an understanding of the origins and background of Africa today.

It soon becomes clear, however, that Mr. Davidson's intention is a little more positive than this; he is a champion of Africans and he would like to destroy the idea that Africa before the arrival of Europeans was a sea of barbarism; he wants to convince his readers that Africa has a past and one not discreditable.

To the aims of the book two objections have been expressed. Both seem to me petty. The first is that a book which is largely an interpretation of archaeology should be written by an archaeologist or at least by a professional historian of Africa. To this I can only reply that when the specialists muster the courage and deploy the sweep, the imagination and the energy needed for an undertaking on this scale, I shall applaud; in the meantime, I reserve my congratulations for Mr. Davidson. The second objection is that the historian should pursue his way with no object in end, without trying to convince; he should be the slave of no theory but merely record the facts as he finds them. For this view I have the greatest contempt. Surely any grown-up person must connect any intellectual activity that is of importance with his basic view of life? Darwin knew that no scientist worth the name ever collected a fact without a theory at the back of his mind. The integrity of the scientist or of the historian lies in adapting the theory to the fact or discarding it when necessary; it is not sensible to collect facts like a squirrel and indeed I doubt whether there is such a thing as a historical fact which can be stated without implying some theory.

I have therefore nothing but praise for Mr. Davidson's objects. It is true that he is sometimes too warm an advocate and overstates his case. Is it, for instance, really wise to apply to Meroe such a phrase as 'an Athens in Africa' even with a query after it? The mere name of Athens calls up too many glories, not only of stone but of philosophy, science, drama, mathematics and poetry, to be applied even tentatively to a culture whose script we cannot understand and which was itself mostly derivative from Egypt.

But there is a more serious difficulty about Mr. Davidson's thesis, if I understand it. No one who has ever been to Africa can fail to have heard the settlers' argument that 'they are 2,000 years behind us'. The first answer to this of course is that it has not taken you or me 2,000 years to reach our present state of enlightenment; once wisdom or knowledge is potted in writing it can be quickly shared between individuals, though not so quickly between peoples. The second part of the answer is somewhat two-edged. Mr. Davidson is addressing himself to the wish of most educated Africans to have a respectable past. But isolation is one of the reasons so far generally put forward for the African's lack of mastery of his environment when the colonial period began. Outside influence had reached the interior of the continent 'in thin trickles' or not at all. Mr. Davidson is now suggesting that these trickles were much stronger than has often been supposed and, as far as West Africa and the old Sudan are concerned, my inclination is to agree with him. But if it was arts from Meroe that were brought to a fresh perfection at Ife and Benin, what then happened? Ife had fallen from its peak by the time Europeans arrived; the Yoruba had split up into warring sections. Why did the trickle die away?

Mr. Davidson faces this problem of decline when he writes of Zimbabwe and the empire of the Monomotopa; he suggests that it is a

tendency of all feudal states to fall apart but goes on to cite the intervention of the Portuguese, and the invasion from the south of 'barbarians'. (This is Mr. Davidson's word and begs two questions; would it not be better to call them Nguni?) But my reading of the Portuguese chronicles—and like Mr. Davidson I am an amateur and cannot profess to have read them all—suggests strongly that the Monomotapa's empire was already well into a decline before the Portuguese arrived and the evidence of Selous as well as the archaeology of the sites suggests that the deterioration was progressive. It was not only external interference. Perhaps institutions are always brittle until writing gives them permanence; but this too is not a sufficient answer.

I have not yet seen an explanation of the rise and decline of civilizations that I find satisfying; perhaps only Dr. Toynbee has the learning to attempt it on the scale that is necessary and while no one can read him without stimulation, no one can possibly agree with all he suggests. More books are needed which attempt to consider history on the vast scale of Dr. Toynbee and on the much more modest but still generous scale of Mr. Davidson; they should be written by men with minds at once speculative and exact.

Mr. Davidson has more than once in the course of his book compared the spread of ideas from Meroe into Africa with the out-going of thought from Greece and Rome into the Gothic North of Europe. He might have carried the process a stage further back; there is fairly general agreement now among archaeologists that the Wessex culture in Britain which was responsible for Stonehenge III was linked with Mycenae and Knossos; here too, as at Zimbabwe, a monument which has puzzled succeeding generations has stood as witness to their decline. It may well be that after the first vigour which results from the meeting of two cultures there usually follows a dormant period before the plant flowers again; dark ages are perhaps necessary before a renaissance. This however is supposition. The facts are still insufficient for any dogmatism. And if there is one point that Mr. Davidson has established with certainty it is the need for research at Meroe —— and archaeological research is expensive. How African was Meroe? Is Mr. Davidson right in thinking that Meroe drew not only on Egypt but on the Africa of the south? One would expect him to be right; both classical Hellas and Judaism drew on prehistoric earth gods and fertility religions. He is not dogmatic and no one at present can be.

I have one small cavil on a matter of style; Mr. Davidson has picked up a trick of interpolating a succession of conditional tenses where a straight historic past would do. At the top of p. 104, for example, he writes: 'These Bulala would dominate Kanem . . . and then at last, in their wake, the "new empire" of Kanem would emerge . . . ' This is all very well now and then but he uses it far too often and it gives an impression almost of whimsy. He has also a way of flitting backwards and forwards across the centuries and across the continent which is sometimes confusing. But these are small points.

Mr. Davidson would clearly be the last to suggest that his work was

more than a beginning. It is a help to the ignorant, many of whom by now are in his debt, and also a challenge to the learned. The workers of the future who take up his glove will also owe him much.

PHILIP MASON

CHILDREN OF THEIR FATHERS

Growing up among the Ngoni of Nyasaland

By MARGARET READ

London, Methuen, 1959. 176pp. 18s.

The Ngoni, immigrants to Nyasaland from the south, regard themselves as aristocrats threatened by the bad customs of the surrounding tribes and of the unassimilated descendants of foreign captives. The principal interest in this book for readers of a journal of race relations would presumably be sought in what the author says about the relationship between the Ngoni and their neighbours. Unfortunately Professor Read tells us little about this. She draws attention to the differences in initiation rites between the Ngoni and the Cewa neighbours, and mentions a few Cewa practices which are followed by some Ngoni, despite the disapproval of the elders; but otherwise we are left in the dark about how 'bad' their neighbours appeared to the Ngoni, and about the ways in which captors tried to convert their captives to the Ngoni way of life. We never hear what their neighbours think of the Ngoni, or what the descendants of captives think of their masters. The author does give more space to showing that the Ngoni appear to have adopted successfully the doctrines and practices of another group of neighbours, the Scottish Presbyterian missionaries, and that they enjoy the pastoral imagery of the Bible.

But this book is not about race relations, and it would be unfair to judge it from that point of view. The greater part of the book consists of a 'narrative' account of Ngoni upbringing. In her earlier writings Professor Read has drawn attention to the differences between the various Ngoni groups in Nyasaland, and it is unfortunate that she does not make it clear that the present volume presumably relates primarily to the northern kingdom under Paramount Chief Mbelwa (Mwambera). A more serious limitation is that it is often hard to determine whether she is describing what she saw, or what she was told had happened, or what Ngoni thought ought to happen. We get an idyllic picture in which Ngoni babies grow inevitably into Ngoni adults with their cultural values intact, helped along with a few beatings on the way. As defined by the Ngoni, virtue triumphs and evil is punished; save only at one point, where Professor Read mentions that hungry big boys forced their juniors to steal maize cobs from their mothers, even though this was 'very wrong' (p. 94). She was plainly much in sympathy with the Ngoni, as indeed anyone who has worked among these delightful

people would expect, and reading her book at times I felt that what she says is precisely what an intelligent Ngoni elder would have said. It is of interest to know how the Ngoni perceive the process of upbringing; it is also of interest to see what actually happens. Professor Read's book is valuable in so far as it supplies some information about both of these topics. Its weakness is that often we do not know which topic is being discussed.

J. A. Barnes

RACIAL PROBLEMS IN SOVIET MUSLIM ASIA

By GEOFFREY WHEELER

London, Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations, 1960. 62pp. 6s.

It is almost impossible to write about race relations in the Soviet Union except in the most general terms. The Soviet régime disputes *a priori* the existence of racial antagonism and even racial problems within the boundaries of the U.S.S.R. No objective study of Soviet racial problems can therefore be made. Official information existing on the subject is released only inadvertently and accidentally. Unofficial information is scarce; it is based either on the interrogation of refugees or on very superficial visits by foreigners to the areas of racial tension in Soviet Asia, where they are unable to engage in any field studies.

Under these circumstances it is understandable that Geoffrey Wheeler's able and informative outline does not deal so much with racial problems in the narrow sense as with the general Soviet policy towards the Muslims of Asia, especially those of the Central Asian Soviet Republics. Mr. Wheeler gives a short historical survey of the Russian conquest of Asia and produces many relevant facts necessary for an assessment of the Soviet colonial record in Russia's Asian Muslim territories. It is a pity that the book was published before the returns of the Soviet census of 1959 became known. They supplied a further striking confirmation of the tremendous influx of Russian settlers into Soviet Central Asia.

In his final conclusions Mr. Wheeler maintains scholarly caution but he leaves open the possibility that the Muslim intellectual élite of Soviet Asia might react against European overlordship in the same way as the intellectuals in the colonial territories of other Empires. At any rate, Mr. Wheeler shows us that the Muslim peoples under Soviet rule have many grievances against Moscow. Their resentment at the present political and cultural tutelage may express itself in forms which one can hardly foresee today, considering the seemingly docile and loyal attitude which the Soviet Muslims observe at present.

Walter Kolarz

THE BELGIAN CONGO: Some Recent Changes

By RUTH SLADE

London, Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations, 1960. 55pp. 5s.

The Belgian Congo will become independent on June 30th. But this momentous decision had not yet been taken when Dr. Slade finished her short analysis of recent changes in the Congo, and inevitably the book suffers from stopping short of the climax. Her study certainly helps towards an understanding of the factors which led to the Belgian decision to give the Congo early independence, but it is perhaps not as helpful as one would expect from as close an observer of the Congo scene as Dr. Slade. She is probably saving her fire for the longer study which she is now preparing.

The Congo's astoundingly rapid translation from a classic paternal colonial régime to independence is being watched with eagle eyes by Africans, and indeed by all those interested in Africa. Dr. Slade sketches in some of the facts of Belgian paternalism which had an almost undisturbed reign until 1956, and lists some of the causes of dissatisfaction which were welling up among Africans. She sets particular store by the growing dissatisfaction of *évolués*, who objected more and more to racial discrimination. Belgian remedial measures were always rather half-hearted, and came too late. But Dr. Slade does not say whether she considers that Belgium should not already in 1956 have taken steps to admit Africans to political power at provincial and central government level.

For the Congo 1958 was a decisive year: political changes were taking place all over Africa; Congo leaders who attended the All-African People's Conference in Accra were deeply impressed by the success of African nationalist movements; many other Congolese leaders caught their first glance of the outside world when they went to the International Exhibition in Brussels. In Belgium itself a change of government brought not only a more liberal attitude towards the Congo, but realization among Congolese that Belgian party politics could have an important bearing on the Congo. Dr. Slade makes the point that Congolese, at this stage, came to see that they could benefit from exploiting Belgian party differences. I hope she will discuss this in greater detail in her longer book.

In her present study, Dr. Slade pays little attention to the Congo's political parties. Yet many of these were already in existence when she was finishing her book. Abako is virtually dismissed as a 'tribal association', and its considerable political significance is scantily discussed—nor for that matter is the role of tribalism in Congo politics examined in any detail. M. Lumumba's *Mouvement National Congolais* only earns brief paragraphs, and no mention at all is made of the clumsy Belgian attempt to sponsor the *Parti National du Progrés.*

The merit of Dr. Slade's present study is that it brings home the extraordinary speed of changes in the Congo. Because, as she rightly notes, the Belgians never developed a colonial complex, they have perhaps found it easier to accept the need for rapid change, and have recently shown that they can be, as Dr. Slade enjoins them to be, both 'bold and energetic'. Nevertheless a careful examination of the factors which led the Belgians to be as bold as they have now shown themselves, still remains to be made. From Dr. Slade's own suggestions for the Congo's political advance and social integration, I rather suspect that she would think that boldness had been overstepped to the point of recklessness.

HELLA PICK

WHITE AND COLOURED. The Behaviour of British People towards Coloured Immigrants

By MICHAEL BANTON

London, Jonathan Cape, 1959. 223pp. 21s.

The belief that prejudice is the mainspring of discriminatory behaviour has for a decade or so dominated race relations research in the United States. This prejudice-discrimination axis does not however seem to apply to the British situation as a whole. Superficially the situations may appear similar. They involve differentiation or discrimination by white people against coloured people. And yet the emotional content often seems entirely different, the motivations highly complex and flexible. Few of the British people involved seem to display the rigid, irrational hostility that we call prejudice.

In his latest book, Dr. Michael Banton has crystallized the doubts of a number of social scientists who have been doing field-work in Britain. He starts by noting four paradoxes, which he derives from his own field-work material in Stepney, from the available literature, and from the results of a questionnaire administered to three hundred respondents in the north of England and the south of Scotland. These paradoxes are put in the form of questions:—

Why should coloured people so often be shabbily treated when the vast majority of individual Britons are favourably disposed towards them?

Why should Britons be strongly opposed to any discrimination in the public treatment of coloured people and at the same time be so hesitant about treating them equally in private relations?

Why should British conduct towards coloured people be uncertain and inclined to change in so startling a fashion?

Why should individual Britons believe their fellows to be less favourably disposed towards coloured people than they are themselves?

In the major part of his book Dr. Banton sets out with common sense, clarity, and an absence of excessive jargon, to resolve these paradoxes. First, he distinguishes between 'prejudice', a rigidly hostile attitude, and 'discrimination', the differential treatment of persons ascribed to various categories. 'Prejudiced people', he says, 'do not necessarily discriminate . . . The release of hostility is regulated by social factors, so that people give vent to their feelings only in those situations that are thought to be appropriate. But discrimination is not necessarily the outcome of prejudice. It may be that an actor is forced to behave contrary to his own preferences, or that he has reasons for his action which have nothing to do with his own attitudes towards the group in question.'

Dr. Banton adds a useful distinction between 'prejudice' and the more rational and modifiable 'antipathy', which he finds more characteristic of the British scene. He continues with a documentation and discussion of the degrees and varieties of discrimination encountered by coloured immigrants in various situations.

In Britain, discrimination or avoidance are at their highest in the most personal situations, where conduct is regulated not by legal codes but by implicit assumptions, and where strangers from another class or area are regarded with suspicion as likely to be ignorant of the norms. To the British, the coloured man is, says Dr. Banton, the 'archetypal stranger'. Moreover, his colour is associated by the British with certain historical relationships in which colour denoted inferior status. These patterns are slowly being discarded, but there is at present a transitional period, during which the British prefer to avoid difficult situations in which they are not sure how they should behave or how the coloured man will react.

Thus Dr. Banton resolves his initial paradoxes by explaining them in terms of overall British values and behaviour patterns, of the attitudes of Britons to all outsiders, and of their present uncertainties in the rapidly changing Commonwealth situation. This sociological explanation seems the most satisfactory one to cover the overall race relations scene in Britain. Occasionally however a situation flares up in which it seems inadequate. The Nottingham disturbances of 1958 are perhaps the best case in point. And one must still ask how far the situation is conditioned by the attitudes and behaviour of coloured migrants, many of whom, however wrongly, regard all discriminatory behaviour as being motivated by colour prejudice.

Dr. Banton ends his book with an appendix giving the results of his questionnaire on British racial attitudes, which suggest that colour prejudice is far from widespread in Britain, He also gives a set of ten commandments for inter-group relations which may be found useful by those who have to deal with such problems in practice. He makes a good case for anti-discrimination legislation, and for long-term education of the British public about the nature of the Commonwealth to which they belong.

SHEILA PATTERSON

THE WEST INDIAN COMES TO ENGLAND

Edited by S. K. RUCK

London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960.

187pp. 25s.

Completed last year, this report was prepared by the Family Welfare Association for the trustees of the London Parochial Charities and consists of four parts—a survey of the social and cultural background of the West Indian and the economic conditions in the Caribbean, the reception and welfare of the arriving migrants and some of the problems confronting the West Indian community in London, and a brief outline of the situation in three cities, Bristol, Liverpool and Nottingham.

The problems of housing, employment, intermarriage, welfare and social life are examined and while the report adds little that is unknown either to students or to social workers in this field, the breadth of the survey and the calm appraisal of the questions involved make this a welcome addition to the literature on race relations in this country.

In discussing the dominant problems of housing and employment the report emphasizes that now is the time to take measures to make the social integration of the West Indian secure, as any large increase in unemployment could have catastrophic effects on unskilled and semi-skilled workers. Even if the flow of migrants falls appreciably, there will still be a need, especially in areas where they congregate, to make a special effort to deal with their individual problems. The suggestion that in areas where there is a non-European population of 5,000 or more a Community Development Officer should be appointed is one which will commend itself to those concerned with this subject.

The appendices unfortunately provide out-of-date information.

GEOFFREY AYRE

BOOKS RECEIVED

(Books listed here may be reviewed later)

The Achilles Heel. By Manes Sperber. Translated by Constantine Fitzgibbon. London, André Deutsch, 1959. 18s.

The Long Night. By Julian Mayfield. London, Michael Joseph, 1960. 13s. 6d.

Race Relations and American Law. By Jack Greenberg. Columbia University Press, 1960. (Oxford University Press). 80s.

The Unification of South Africa, 1902-1910. By L. M. Thompson. London, Oxford University Press at the Clarendon Press, 1960. 50s.

New Nigerians. By Mora Dickson. London, Dennis Dobson, 1960. 25s.

Kalahari. By Jens Bjerre. London, Michael Joseph, 1960. 30s.

Kariba: The Struggle with the River God. By Frank Clements. London, Methuen, 1959. 16s.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

AYRE, GEOFFREY	is Welfare Liaison Officer of the Commonwealth Welfare Council for the West Midlands.
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BRAINE, BERNARD, M.P.	is Vice-Chairman of the Conservative Party's Commonwealth Affairs Committee and Chairman of the British Commonwealth Producers' Association.
HARRIS, REX	is the Editor of *Luntandanya*, a Northern Rhodesian newspaper for Africans.
KOLARZ, WALTER	is the author of several books on the Soviet Union including *The Peoples of the Soviet Far East* and *Russia and her Colonies.*
MASON, PHILIP	is the Director of the Institute of Race Relations and author of *The Men Who Ruled India, An Essay on Racial Tension, Christianity and Race, The Birth of a Dilemma.*
PATTERSON, SHEILA	is doing research on immigrant groups in Britain. Author of *Colour and Culture in South Africa* and *The Last Trek.*

PICK, HELLA	worked on the staff of *West Africa* for several years and is a frequent visitor to Africa.
POLLINS, HAROLD	was recently engaged in a study of West Indians in London for the Committee for Urban Studies, University College, London.
RICHMOND, ANTHONY	is a lecturer in the Department of Social Studies, University of Edinburgh. Author of *The Colour Problem* and *Colour Prejudice in Britain*.
WOOD, DONALD	is Deputy Director of the Institute of Race Relations.

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